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Central Eurasia

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FBIS-SOV-93-098 CONTENTS *24 May 1993*

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

First International Conference on Chemical Disarmament Ends *[ITAR-TASS]* 1
  Russian Official on Need for Legislation *[ITAR-TASS]* 1
Turkey Accused of Violating UN Resolution in Nagorno-Karabakh *[AFP]* 1
Envoy Submits Revised Karabakh Peace Plan to Armenians *[IZVESTIYA 20 May]* 2
International Disaster Prevention Conference Held 2
  Civil Defense Cooperation Pledged *[IZVESTIYA 21 May]* 2
  Russia Proposes Role *[ITAR-TASS]* 2
PRAVDA on Ryabov's Backing for Constituent Assembly *[18 May]* 3

INTERREGIONAL AFFAIRS

Interparliamentary Assembly Held in St. Petersburg 4
  Assembly To Discuss Azerbaijan *[Radio Rossii]* 4
  Khasbulatov Says Ties Being Restored *[ITAR-TASS]* 4
  Republics Integrating Into Commonwealth *[Moscow TV]* 4
  Leaders Comment on Results *[ITAR-TASS]* 4
  Khasbulatov Outlines Results *[Moscow Radio]* 5
Grachev Reaches Three Agreements With Baltics *[Moscow TV]* 6
Beskaravainyy Named Commander of Black Sea Fleet *[ITAR-TASS]* 6
Black Sea Officers Call For Yeltsin-Kravchuk Meeting *[Kiev International]* 6
Remarks on CIS States Merging Into Russia Denied *[ITAR-TASS]* 6
New Coordinating Committee's Work Described *[Moscow Radio]* 7
Baltic, Nordic Officials Discuss Narcotics Control *[BNS]* 7
ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 22 May 7

RUSSIA INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Kozyrev Continues U.S. Visit, Meets Officials 9
  Meets Clinton, Lake, Christopher *[ITAR-TASS]* 9
  Comments on Bosnian Settlement Efforts *[ITAR-TASS]* 9
  'Very Well Satisfied' With Clinton Talks *[Moscow Radio]* 9
  Talks With Christopher Detailed *[IZVESTIYA 22 May]* 10
  Arrives in New York, Confers on Bosnia *[ITAR-TASS]* 10
  Meets With Butrus-Ghali *[Moscow Radio]* 10
  Meets With Other Foreign Ministers *[ITAR-TASS]* 10
  Commentary Views U.S. 'Small-Minded' Acts *[Moscow Radio]* 11
  Comments on Participation in Peace Plan *[Moscow TV]* 12
  Ends Visit to U.S. *[ITAR-TASS]* 12
  Details Results of Talks *[ITAR-TASS]* 13
  Says Muslim Rejection 'Unacceptable' *[AFP]* 13
  Comments on Washington Bosnia Deal *[ITAR-TASS]* 13
Rutskoy Says Russia 'Thoroughly Submissive' to U.S. *[Tehran IRNA]* 14
TV Notes U.S. Protest Over PRAVDA Article *[Moscow TV]* 14
Trade Union Leader Charges AFL-CIO With Interference *[RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA 21 May]* 14
End of SDI Program Noted; Costs Said 'All in Vain' *[Moscow International]* 15
Commentary Welcomes U.S. Recognition of Angolan Government *[Moscow International]* 15
Shumeyko, Cuba's Soto Positively Assess Russo-Cuban Talks *[ITAR-TASS]* 16
  Joint Memorandum Signed *[ITAR-TASS]* 16
  Shumeyko Returns to Moscow *[ITAR-TASS]* 16
ANC Sees No Problems in Relations With Russia *[ITAR-TASS]* 17

  ANC's Mbeki, Modise Meet Officials *[Moscow International]* ... 17
  Commentary Views Visit *[Moscow International]* ... 17
Spokesman Blasts UNITA's Approach in Angola *[ITAR-TASS]* ... 17
Khasbulatov Addresses 'Arab World' Conference *[ITAR-TASS]* ... 18
  Rutskoy on Ties With 'Arab World' *[ITAR-TASS]* ... 18
  Conference Ends; Final Document Issued *[ITAR-TASS]* ... 19
'Scandal' Surrounding Chechen Leader's Lebanese Visit Grows *[ITAR-TASS]* ... 19
Yeltsin Approves Draft Friendship Treaty With Tajikistan *[ITAR-TASS]* ... 20
Chernomyrdin Cancels Kiev Trip Because of Kuchma *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 21 May]* ... 20
Ukrainian Moves on Black Sea Fleet Deplored *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 20 May]* ... 21
Khasbulatov Appeals to Azeri Leaders Over Russian POWs *[Radio Rossii]* ... 22
Grachev Addresses News Conference on Lithuania Withdrawal *[Moscow TV]* ... 22
Moscow-Vilnius Talks Stall Over Damages Issue *[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 22 May]* ... 22
Spokesman Says Russia Supports UN Stance on Cambodia *[ITAR-TASS]* ... 23
Japanese Approach to Nuclear Dumping Problem 'Constructive' *[IZVESTIYA 13 May]* ... 23
Industrialists Hope To Restore Trade Links With East Europe *[KOMMERSANT-DAILY 21 May]* ... 24

RUSSIA NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Constitution Issues

Shakhray Views Deputies' Role in Drafting Constitution *[Moscow Radio]* ... 25
Shakhray Says President's Draft Supported by Regions *[ITAR-TASS]* ... 25
Shakhray Sells Constitution in Far East *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 21 May]* ... 26
Rumyantsev Comments on Presidential Draft *[Russian TV]* ... 27
West Siberian Region Backs Yeltsin's Draft Constitution *[ITAR-TASS]* ... 28
North Caucasus Leaders Urged To Pool Efforts on Constitution *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 21 May]* ... 28
Tatarstan President on Review of Constitution *[Moscow TV]* ... 28
North Ossetian Parliament Speaker on Russian Constitution *[FEDERATSIYA 22 May]* ... 29
Republican Party Notes Flaws in Draft Constitutions *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 21 May]* ... 30
Officials Offer Opinions on Yeltsin's Draft Constitution *[ITAR-TASS]* ... 30
Trade Union Chairman on Yeltsin's Draft Constitution *[ITAR-TASS]* ... 31
Article Examines Constitutional Process *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 21 May]* ... 31

Political Issues

Rutskoy Outlines Stance of Centrist Forces *[Moscow TV]* ... 32
Presidential Aide Urges Congress To Dissolve Itself *[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 22 May]* ... 34
Chernomyrdin Departs for 12-Day Vacation in Sochi *[ITAR-TASS]* ... 35
Kozyrev Article Views Human Rights, Sakharov Legacy *[IZVESTIYA 22 May]* ... 35

Military & Space Issues

Shokhin To Chair Military Technical Cooperation Committee *[ITAR-TASS]* ... 37
Khizha Denies Involvement in Missile Smuggling Case *[KOMMERSANT-DAILY 21 May]* ... 37
Kokoshin Comments on Defense Conversion Prospects *[DELOVIE LYUDI Apr]* ... 38
Defense Industries Committee Head on Arms Sales, Conversion *[DELOVIE LYUDI Apr]* ... 39
Tor Air Defense Missile Complex Described *[IZVESTIYA 19 May]* ... 40
'Military Review' Interviews Grachev, Others *[Moscow TV]* ... 41
'Red Square' Program on Defense Issues *[Moscow TV]* ... 42
Details of Voskhod '93 Air Exercises Reported *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 21 May]* ... 44
'Progress M-18' Space Cargo Vessel Launched 22 May *[ITAR-TASS]* ... 45
Plesetsk Launches New Satellite 21 May *[ITAR-TASS]* ... 45

Supreme Soviet

Abdulatipov Article on Breaking Constitution Impasse *[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 22 May]* ... 45
Abdulatipov Interviewed on Draft Constitutions *[Russian TV]* ... 47
Abdulatipov Comments on Caucasus, General Situation *[Russian TV]* ... 48
Abdulatipov Advances Case for State's 'Evolution' *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 21 May]* ... 49

Khasbulatov Deflects Discussion on Alternative Draft *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 21 May]* 50
Khasbulatov Addresses 30,000 in Telephone Conference *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 21 May]* 51
Parliament Session Not Held for Lack of Quorum *[ITAR-TASS]* 51
Supreme Soviet Passes Law on Customs Tariffs *[ITAR-TASS]* 52
Committee Aide: Parliament Entitled To Discuss Stepankov *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 20 May]* 52
Parliament Adopts Pension Law for Servicemen's Parents *[Radio Rossii]* 52
Supreme Soviet Allows Travkin To Retire *[Moscow TV]* 53

Regional Affairs

Ingush 'National Extremists' Declare 'Holy War' on Russia *[Moscow Radio]* 53
Chechnya Plans To Recruit Its Own Army *[ITAR-TASS]* 53
New Chechen Premier Blames Dudayev for Republican Crisis *[ITAR-TASS]* 54
Chechnya Restores Financial Relations With Russia *[ITAR-TASS]* 54
Chechen Cabinet Sworn In; Dudayev To Name 'Power' Ministers *[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 22 May]* 54
Chechnya's Dudayev Confers With Military *[ITAR-TASS]* 55

UKRAINE

International Affairs

Zlenko, U.S. Ambassador Discuss Relations *[Kiev International]* 56
Cabinet Issues Instructions on Yugoslavia Sanctions *[Kiev International]* 56
Kravchuk, Polish President Begin Meetings *[ITAR-TASS]* 56
    Walesa Predicts No Major Boost in Ties *[ITAR-TASS]* 56
Kravchuk Seeks 'Solid' Arab Ties, Peace Process Role *[Amman TV]* 57
Cuban Ambassador Interviewed on Ties *[HOLOS UKRAYINY 15 May]* 57
State Committee for Economic Cooperation With CIS Formed *[Kiev International]* 58

National Affairs

Deputies Vote for 'De Jure' Nuclear Status *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 20 May]* 58
Zaporozhskaya AES Explosion Kills One; No Radiation Leakage *[ITAR-TASS]* 58
    Situation Returns to 'Normal' *[Kiev International]* 59
Kuchma, Kravchuk Address Parliament 21 May *[Kiev International]* 59
Cabinet Meets, Prepares Reform Legislation *[Kiev International]* 60
New Anti-Submarine Ship Launched *[Kiev International]* 61

WESTERN REGION

Moldova

Negotiations on 14th Army Withdrawal Continue 62
    Smirnov's Adviser Assesses Talks *[BASAPRESS]* 62
    Government Proposes Date, Terms *[BASAPRESS]* 62
Snegur Discusses New Approach to Dniester, Gagauz *[BASAPRESS]* 62
Snegur Urges Butros-Ghali To Intervene in Tiraspol Trial *[BASAPRESS]* 63

CENTRAL ASIA

Kazakhstan

Nazarbayev Stresses Intra-CIS Cooperation *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 21 May]* 64

Tajikistan

Foreign Minister on Incorporation Into Russia *[ITAR-TASS]* 66
First Humanitarian Aid Consignment Received From Russia *[ITAR-TASS]* 67
Security Chief: Armed Opposition 'Doomed to Failure' *[ITAR-TASS]* 67

Uzbekistan

Karimov, Indian Prime Minister Rao Hold Talks *[ITAR-TASS]* 67
  Agree To Expand Ties *[Delhi International]* 67
  Express Concern Over Fundamentalism *[Delhi International]* 68

CAUCASUS

Azerbaijan

Kamberov Suggests Joint Body To Study Sentenced Russians *[ITAR-TASS]* 69
  Further on Kamberov Reply *[TURAN]* 69
General Procuracy Maintains Guilt of Russian Servicemen *[Baku TV]* 69
Prime Minister Guseynov Leaves for UK *[Baku Radio]* 70

Georgia

Shevardnadze, UN Envoy on Abkhaz-Georgian Conflict *[Radio Rossii]* 70
  UN Envoy Visits Abkhazia *[ITAR-TASS]* 70
Nadareishvili Proposes Abkhaz Peace Plan to Ardzinba *[Russian TV]* 70
  Meets Yeltsin's Personal Envoy *[Tbilisi Radio]* 71
  Yeltsin Envoy Meets Parliament Official *[Tbilisi Radio]* 71
Abkhazia Accuses Georgia of Cease-Fire Violations *[ITAR-TASS]* 71
Abkhaz Defense Council Chairman Meets U.S. Military Attache *[Tbilisi Radio]* 71
Denial of Preparations To Invade South Ossetia *[Tbilisi Radio]* 72
'Armed Groups' Become Active Pre-Independence Day *[Moscow Radio]* 72

BALTIC STATES

Lithuania

Armed Forces To Be Armed With Russian Weapons *[Vilnius Radio]* 73
Defense Minister Sees Trade Opportunities With Russia *[Russian TV]* 73
Russian Official on Status of Troop Withdrawal *[Vilnius Radio]* 73
Landsbergis News Conference Discusses Russian Withdrawal *[Vilnius Radio]* 73
German Envoy Interviewed on Ties, Aid *[LIETUVOS AIDAS 7 May]* 73

iv

First International Conference on Chemical Disarmament Ends

LD2105142393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1320 GMT 21 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Ostanin]

[Text] Moscow May 21 TASS—The first international conference on chemical disarmament has completed here today.

The three-days discussion at Moscow's President Hotel attracted over 100 scientists and representatives of business and industrial communities from 25 states.

Head of the U.S. International Disarmament and Conversion Center Coel Olson told ITAR-TASS the conference was useful, as its participants exchanged opinion on a broad range of chemical disarmament problems.

In his opinion, legislation on chemical disarmament should be quickly elaborated, otherwise the industry will fail to meet the requirements of chemical disarmament programs envisaged by the convention on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of all types of chemical weapons and on their destruction.

Speaking of control over the convention implementation, Olson said the inspection will be permanent and take an indefinite period of time on condition of further commercial interest of the chemical industry. He said short-term working relations between foreign and Russian enterprises are possible.

Head of the U.N. group of chemical and biological arms experts and Swedish chemist Johan Santesson told ITAR-TASS representatives of countries, which do not have chemical arms, attended the conference because the chemical disarmament problem can be solved on a global scale only with collective efforts of the international community.

Speaking of the work in Iraq of a U.N. expert team he headed, Santesson said U.N. experience of chemical inspection can be used in future. In his opinion, it would be expedient to form small teams of experts to include not only specialists in toxic agents' destruction but also sociologists and psychologists.

Exchange of experience was good for all conference participants, secretary of the conference organizational committee Vladislav Malyshev told ITAR-TASS. A number of states, including the United States and Germany, expressed their readiness to render economic assistance to chemical disarmament in Russia.

In Malyshev's words, conference participants abstained from the adoption of an appeal to heads and public figures in states- signatories of the convention. It is not because their opinions differ, but because "some discussion participants did not consider themselves competent to adopt the appeal," said Malyshev.

Russian Official on Need for Legislation

LD2105020593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1855 GMT 20 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Ostanin]

[Text] Moscow May 20 TASS—"The success of a comprehensive programme for stage-by-stage elimination of chemical weapons in Russia will much depend on efficient legislation, which is yet being worked out," Vladislav Malyshev, secretary of the organizing committee of the international conference on chemical disarmament, told ITAR-TASS at the President Hotel on Thursday.

In his opinion, Russia will have to work out mechanisms for implementation of laws. It is not the government, but local authorities that should put forward an initiative to place facilities for the destruction of chemical weapons in their regions, Malyshev said. He believes that the campaign will begin when applications to mount these facilities are submitted by local authorities to the committee for problems of conversion of chemical and biological weapons under the Russian president, which means that the struggle to win the public opinion will begin.

Malyshev said that at today's session the attention of Russian scientists focused on the experience of their American colleagues to develop contacts and information exchange with public organisations and with the "green" movement, in particular.

On Friday, the participants in the conference will discuss problems of destroying poisonous substances and taking them under control, and medical and ecological aspects of the destruction of chemical weapons.

An address is expected to be made at the end of the conference to leaders and public figures of states which signed a convention on banning the development, production, stockpiling and the use of chemical weapons and their elimination.

Turkey Accused of Violating UN Resolution in Nagorno-Karabakh

NC2005151993 Paris AFP in English 1416 GMT 20 May 93

[Text] Yerevan, May 20 (AFP)—Turkey was violating the latest United Nations resolution on the Armenia-Azerbaijan conflict by blockading delivery of humanitarian aid to Armenia, an official from the disputed enclave of Nagorno-Karabakh said here Thursday [20 May].

Manvel Sargisyan, who is the Armenian-dominated enclave's envoy in the Armenian capital, said that was why the authorities in Nagorno-Karabakh had rejected a peace plan presented by Turkey, Russia and the United States.

He said the Security Council text passed at the end of April, calling for an immediate halt to fighting in the five-year war, stipulated that there should be free access for international relief in all war-affected zones.

The peace plan sought the retreat of occupying Armenian forces from the Azerbaijani regions of Lachinskiy and Kelbadzharskiy as a way of relaunching peace talks, but Armenia refused to move.

The three mediator countries have proposed a revised timetable, to be approved of by Armenia, Azerbaijan and Nagorno-Karabakh by next Wednesday. It calls for a scaling down of military action three days later, with a complete halt to hostilities for 60 days from June 1.

There would be consultations in Geneva June 6 to June 10, followed by a conference in Rome in the framework of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe which has been mandated to find a settlement.

The speaker of the Nagorno-Karabakh parliament, Georgy Petrosyan, said in a telephone call that the authorities there were canvassing opinion intensively on the new tripartite plan, to prepare a formal response.

But his political adviser Sergey Karakhanyan complained that Turkey was failing to behave as a neutral party.

About 5,000 people have died in the war since the Christian Armenian majority in Nagorno-Karabakh plumped for independence from Muslim Azerbaijan.

Envoy Submits Revised Karabakh Peace Plan to Armenians

PM2105133193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 May 93 First Edition p 3

[Sergey Bablumyan report under "From Our Correspondents and News Agencies" rubric: "Search for Concord in Karabakh Continues"]

[Text] Yerevan—V. Stupishin, Russian ambassador to Armenia, has handed to an official representative of the Armenian Foreign Ministry an updated version of the Russian-U.S.-Turkish peace initiative on Nagorno-Karabakh.

The document changes the schedule for the withdrawal of the self-defense forces of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic from Azerbaijan's Kelbadzharskiy Rayon and also provides for a group of CSCE observers to be stationed in the region of the conflict.

The amended plan for settling the conflict does not mention the need to end Azerbaijan's fuel and energy blockade of Armenia—which, it appears, will be a serious obstacle in the way of reaching accord.

International Disaster Prevention Conference Held

Civil Defense Cooperation Pledged

PM2105113393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 May 93 First Edition p 1

[Report by Valeriy Yakov: "From Fires to Disasters It Is Easier To Protect Ourselves Together"]

[Text] The second international conference of countries of Central, Eastern, and Southeastern Europe on cooperation in the field of civil defense and protection against disasters ended in Moscow 20 May. Taking part in the conference were delegations from over 20 states, including CIS countries, and international organizations specializing in combating natural and manmade disasters and rendering humanitarian aid to the affected population.

Cooperation in the field of civil defense and protection against disasters is a relatively new sphere of international relations. But the unfortunate experience of recent years, when disasters, fires, and emergencies in some countries have in some way affected others (Chernobyl, the fires in Kuwait) has convinced people that it is best to prepare for such disasters and struggle against their consequences together.

The Russian State Committee for Emergency Situations has begun to implement an information exchange with the European system of notification formed within the framework of the partially open agreement of the Council of Europe and with communications points of national and international centers taking part in the prevention and elimination of emergency situations. At the present conference (the first was held a year ago in Magdeburg), the Russian side suggested a draft convention on coordinated aid in emergency situations. This idea met with understanding from specialists who, observing exercises by individual services of the State Committee for Emergency Situations, knew that our specialists also know how to do some things and could teach them something. At least no one can replace them in terms of practical experience.

Russia Proposes Role

LD2105175093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1020 GMT 21 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Marina Barinova]

[Excerpts] Moscow, 21 May (ITAR-TASS)—An international conference on cooperation in the field of civil defense and protection against disasters has ended with the signing of a convention on joint actions in overcoming the consequences of emergency situations in Europe.

Commenting on the results of the conference, Sergey Shoygu, chairman of the Russian State Committee for

2

Emergency Situations, noted that professional cooperation in the field of eliminating the consequences of disasters is a new venture in international relations. [passage omitted]

What is Russia proposing for the world community? Apart from the structures of civil defense the State Committee for Emergency Situations can present an aero-mobile rescue detachment. The Russian transportation detachment for delivering humanitarian cargoes, which has already been working for three months on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, has also made a good impression. As part of the UN's international forces it has shown reliability and professionalism as a partner in tackling complex tasks of international emergency aid.

The Russian delegation proposed a long-term program at the conference. In the opinion of specialists, the creation of international centers of protection from disasters which would be able to tackle all tasks, from humanitarian tasks to purely technical ones, is an urgent task.

PRAVDA on Ryabov's Backing for Constituent Assembly

PM2005104393 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 May 93 p 2

[Boris Slavin report: "Nikolay Ryabov Wants To Embrace President"]

[Text] An international conference on an unusual topic for us—"Lobbyism and Its Place in Sociopolitical Life"—was held in the "Forest Views" Guest House near Moscow on 15-16 May. Prominent political scientists, people's deputies, and practical lobbyists from Britain, the United States, and Canada participated in the conference.

The speech by Nikolay Ryabov, deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, caused a sensation there. Until now everyone has known him as the tough parliamentary antagonist of Duputy Prime Minister V. Shumeyko. Their polemic over the referendum is still fresh in the memory. However, to the amazement of those attending the conference, in his speech, Nikolay Ryabov tried his best to convince the scientists and political experts that the idea of a constitutional assembly advanced by the president with the aim of adopting his new draft constitution is highly constructive. Nikolay Ryabov suggested that parliamentarians agree to this assembly and take an active part in it. To use his expression, the people's deputies must "embrace the president" and bring the latter to the Congress for final approval of the general draft of the constitution. While I was listening to Ryabov's speech, I gained the impression that in actual fact, it was not he who wished to "embrace the president" and bring him to the Congress, but that the president had long ago "embraced" N. Ryabov and would bring him to his own constitutional assembly, which is, in point of fact, anticonstitutional.

The concept "lobbyism" means the influence of various public groups, organizations, and entrepreneurs over representatives of political power for the purpose of adopting the political decisions and draft laws that are desired. It was clear to many conference participants that with his speech, Nikolay Ryabov was clearly lobbying not for the interests of parliament in the executive, but for the interests of the president in parliament.

As is known, the efforts of lobbyists are always rewarded with something: either materially, with a post, or morally. The future will show whether Nikolay Ryabov will be rewarded for his efforts to have the president's constitution adopted. One thing is clear today: Ryabov and Shumeyko are no antagonists. On the contrary, they are totally united by the president's interest in introducing a constitution which gives B. Yeltsin the unlimited rights of a monarch in Russia. There is every reason to assume that Nikolay Ryabov could repeat Shumeyko's feat and be "washed away" in time into the structures of the executive on the eve of the dissolution or apparent breakup of the Congress.

Interparliamentary Assembly Held in St. Petersburg

Assembly To Discuss Azerbaijan

LD2205171793 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1600 GMT 22 May 93

[Text] Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the joint CIS Armed Forces, has stated in an interview with the Ekho Moskvy radio station that the trial of the Russian servicemen in Azerbaijan was a result of the lack of coordination on the legislative acts in the countries of the former USSR. He said that, until now, there has been no coordinated system for the carrying out of military service by one side's servicemen on the territory of another state.

The existing state of affairs may be corrected by the work of the CIS interparliamentary assembly opening in St. Petersburg. This is to lay down the foundations for a future system for the carrying out of military service by citizens of one state on the territory of another, Marshal Shaposhnikov said.

Khasbulatov Says Ties Being Restored

LD2305122393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1205 GMT 23 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Fomicheva]

[Text] St. Petersburg May 23 TASS—A transition from the break-up of ties between ex-Soviet republics to their restoration on a new basis has begun to emerge, Russian Parliament Speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov, who is the chairman of the Council of the Interparliamentary Assembly of CIS Countries, said at the beginning of the assembly's third plenary session which opened here on Sunday.

Khasbulatov singled out topical problems in the sphere of military cooperation. His opinion is that the current situation calls for joint actions to bring the military legislations of CIS countries closer together and ensure their defence capacity.

Five additional items were put on the endorsed agenda, apart from the 14 main ones. These include preparations for the founding of an international institute for CIS problems, the formation of foreign-policy and budget-control commissions. A memorandum "On Concord in the Name of Security" is to be considered.

The assembly has already discussed and accepted recommendatory legislative acts "On Principles for the Regulation of Information Relations in the Interparliamentary Assembly Member-States", "On Coordinated Common Principles for the Regulation of Customs Business", "On Common Principles for the Legal Regulation of Foreign Investments" and "On the Ensurance of Defence Capacity and the Development of Cooperation in the Military Field".

The assembly passed a resolution "On Basic Principles to Bring CIS Countries' Military Legislations Closer Together" and heard a report reviewing the implementation of the assembly's decisions to eliminate the aftermath of the ecological damage wrought in the areas of Semipalatinsk, Chernobyl, the Aral Sea and other regions.

It has also been decided that there should be not limitation on people's access to such types of information as reports on emergency situations, natural calamities, disasters and their consequences, the ecological situation, and instances of the breach of legality by state bodies and their officials, political persecutions or repressions.

Republics Integrating Into Commonwealth

LD2305125193 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1100 GMT 23 May 93

[By correspondent Sergey Dukhavin; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The Interparliamentary Assembly of CIS member states has begun a plenary session in the Tavriycheskiy Palace in St. Petersburg. An hour before it opened, the Assembly Council held a session at its headquarters, where the agenda was approved.

[Dukhavin] This is already the third meeting of parliamentary delegations at a plenary sitting in St. Petersburg. As Ruslan Khasbulatov, chairman of the Assembly Council, pointed out in his introductory speech, the work of this forum and its working bodies has been very fruitful. Today has been no exception. Participants at the session in the Tavriycheskiy Palace discussed more than 15 questions of vital importance for the future of the Commonwealth. In particular, these included questions on preparation of a draft convention on protection of rights and basic liberties of individual and ethnic minorities, on interaction in the fight against organized crime, on the principles of ecological safety, and others.

It is notable that apart from the representatives of Azerbaijan and Moldova, who took part in the previous sessions, also taking part as an observer at today's session was a representative from the Ukrainian Parliament.

The main result of today's session is perhaps the obvious integrational processes that are now visible between not only CIS member countries, but also republics that were part of the former Soviet Union.

Leaders Comment on Results

LD2305163793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1614 GMT 23 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Fomicheva]

4

[Text] St. Petersburg May 23 TASS—"The work of the assembly is acquiring a regular character and help parliamentarians develop contacts," Ruslan Khasbulatov, chairman of the Council of the Interparliamentary Assembly, said at a news conference devoted to the results of the assembly.

He said that the three recommendatory legislative acts adopted at the session promote bringing CIS legislatures closer together, rather than making them differ. According to Khasbulatov, the assembly is paying much attention to the problem of the Armed Forces, since the position of servicemen was infringed upon.

"In future, we intend to have every action be accompanied by the schedule of its discussion in all parliaments. Parliaments of the republics will use the recommendations of the assembly in its law- making activities," Khasbulatov said.

Vagif Kasumov, representative of a delegation of the Azeri National Assembly, said that the parliament is debating a problem on the transfer of Russian servicemen, who had been sentenced to death, to Russian law-enforcement bodies. A commission is being set up to determine to which extent the indicted servicemen are guilty, Kasumov said, adding that the problem would be resolved jointly with the Russian side.

"The prestige of the Interparliamentary Assembly will grow, if more states join it," said Dmitriy Puntya, deputy chairman of the Moldovan Parliament.

Asked about his attitude to the adoption of a new constitution, Khasbulatov said that "there is no other way of adopting the constitution but through a constitutional commission, the parliament and the Congress of People's Deputies". Khasbulatov added that he would take part in the constitutional commission if time permits.

Khasbulatov Outlines Results

LD2305163893 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1317 GMT 23 May 93

[Text] The third plenary sitting of the Interparliamentary Assembly took place in St. Petersburg today. Leaders of the Supreme Soviets of Belarus, Armenia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, the Russian Federation, and Tajikistan took part in it. Representatives of Azerbaijan, Moldova, and Ukraine were also present in the capacity of observers. Representatives of the CIS Joint Armed Forces, the General Confederation of Trade Unions, and also the Nordic Council and the leadership of St. Petersburg were also present at the session.

This is what Ruslan Khasbulatov, chairman of the Interparliamentary Assembly and chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet, said in a speech at the sitting:

[Begin Khasbulatov recording] Since the second plenary sitting of the Assembly was held, its activity has been strengthened considerably and has become more dynamic. It has begun to be more purposeful as far as ensuring parliamentary interaction in resolving urgent problems facing the Commonwealth—and as you know there are plenty of them—both in the interaction between the members of the Commonwealth and nonmembers of the Commonwealth, and also inside our countries.

On the initiative of the Council of the Assembly, measures were taken to accelerate the processes of agreeing and of ratifying the agreements and treaties concluded by the heads of states and governments of the Commonwealth countries. It is clear what the rational thrust of the work of the Assembly structural subdepartments is like. The center of gravity in the work is shifting more and more definitely toward its standing commissions. It is very notable that parliamentary deputies of Ukraine, Azerbaijan, and Moldova are taking an ever greater part in the discussion of a number of questions in the standing commissions.

The sitting of Council of the Assembly has just finished. As chairman, I have been instructed to put the relevant proposal to the parliaments—that is the parliaments of Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Moldova—about their participation in the work of our Interparliamentary Assembly.

No less important is the fact that itinerant sittings of the commissions are also becoming established practice; for instance, taking into account the situation in Tajikistan, a sitting of a standing commission on questions of defense and security was held there.

The groundwork has been laid for establishing working contacts with the Nordic council. Today we are examining a whole series of very important questions aimed at expanding the legal basis of cooperation between nationalities within the framework of the Commonwealth and the perfection of its activity. It can be said with confidence that the work of the Assembly is gradually gathering pace, and if all its members take an interest in participating in it, it is capable of creating high quality documents on a broad range of political, socioeconomic, humanitarian, and other problems.

Today, we could make a detailed study of the state of affairs in the Commonwealth while solving specific questions, and generally elaborate concepts of the development of the Commonwealth, of the fundamental values that each of us is pursuing separately and all together. [end recording]

Speaking specifically about the sitting in St. Petersburg, a bloc of recommendatory acts, as well as appeals and a referendum were adopted. Discussions on the appeal of the Council of the Interparliamentary Assembly on allowing temporarily—up to the year 2000—servicemen of a different nationality to perform their service in the Commonwealth member-states resulted in a resolution. In this connection the participants in the forum made a proposal to the Supreme Soviets of the Commonwealth states on introducing changes into the relevant legislative acts. Memoranda were adopted on Accord in Mutual Security—that's what it's called.

The Assembly participants proposed that calls for violence should be excluded completely from the activities of parliament, that participants should refrain from the use of force in resolving conflicts, that they should refrain from supporting separatist approaches to the political and economic development of the states, and should guarantee nuclear security and the nonproliferation of weapons of mass destruction.

It is intended to hold the fourth sitting of the Interparliamentary Assembly in November. As for Ruslan Imranovich Khasbulatov, whose voice you have just been listening to, he will set off from St. Petersburg on a trip to Pskov and Novgorod late this evening.

Grachev Reaches Three Agreements With Baltics

LD2105162993 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1400 GMT 21 May 93

[Report by correspondent Sergey Antsupov, with recorded remarks by Sergey Zotov, head of the Russian delegation at talks with the Baltic states; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] No schedule for the withdrawal of Russian troops from the Baltic republics has been agreed upon following the series of talks that [Russian Defense Minister] Pavel Grachev held with the heads of these countries' military departments. In connection with this, the Russian minister accused Estonia and Latvia of being insufficiently prepared to discuss this question.

[Antsupov] Three important interstate agreements were signed on behalf of the governments of the two countries in Jurmala at the end of this stage of the talks.

[Zotov] We have reached a stage at which one can speak about some palpable results.

[Antsupov] The first is on the creation of joint enterprises on the basis of Russian military plants, the second is on allowing Russian servicemen and their families to cross the border without visas during the period of the troops' withdrawal; and the third on the utilization of postal, electronic communications, and radio frequencies by the Russian Armed Forces. However, as Janis Dinevics, head of the Latvian delegation, noted, there was no noticeable progress on the two main questions, that is, agreeing on the final date for the complete withdrawal of Russian troops from Latvia and resolving property problems. At the same time, it is planned to hold the next round in Moscow on 31 May and sign a further...

[Zotov recording interrupting] ...five agreements which will regulate individual aspects connected with the withdrawal of troops, and about seven agreements of a civilian nature.

Beskaravainyy Named Commander of Black Sea Fleet

LD2405102793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1001 GMT 24 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Roman Zadunaiskiy]

[Text] Moscow 24 May TASS— Vice Admiral Vladimir Beskaravainyy is expected to replace Boris Kozhin, the Ukrainian Navy commander who is to be dismissed for violating the Yalta agreements on the disputed Black Sea Fleet, TASS learned from well-informed sources in Sevastopol.

Beskaravainyy, the commander of a nuclear submarine division of the Russian Northern Fleet, was sent to Ukraine by Pavel Grachev, the Russian defence minister, upon a request of his Ukrainian counterpart Konstantin Morozov.

Black Sea Officers Call For Yeltsin-Kravchuk Meeting

LD2105183993 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1500 GMT 21 May 93

[Text] Officers assemblies have taken place in some Black Sea Fleet formations this week. A statement to the presidents, parliaments, and ministers of defense of Ukraine and Russia and the Crimean Supreme Council was adopted. In particular, they contain demands to hold a meeting between the Ukrainean and Russian presidents, together with the participation of the Crimean Supreme Council's chairman, in order to resolve a range of issues concerning the Black Sea Fleet. Provisions on the status of the fleet's servicemen were adopted as well as provsions on speeding up the settlement of the issue concerning the introduction of dual citizenship on Crimean territory.

Remarks on CIS States Merging Into Russia Denied

LD2205161293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1535 GMT 22 May 93

[Text] Moscow May 22 TASS—Following reports that began to appear recently in some mass media organs with reference to Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin about the alleged request of some CIS member states to incorpoprate them into Russia, ITAR-TASS asked the government's press service to comment on that information today.

Valentin Sergeyev, head of the press service, said that the information, circulated by INTERFAX today, is the result of the practices, which are common for journalists at present, when a question is presented as an answer. Speaking at a working conference with heads of local administrations and councils in Ulyanovsk, Chernomyrdin gave a well-thought-over and detailed answer to the question: "Is it true that some CIS member states asked the Russian Federation Government to incorporate them into Russia?" Naturally, he did not fail to mention some difficulties with maintaining and strengthening economic relations with the CIS member states. The prime minister's words were strictly in line with the letter and spirit of the agreements, reached at the recent summit meeting in Moscow.

"Of course, some words can be taken out of any speech and quoted separately. But is it really necessary? As a result of all that, the question was presented as an answer and hurt, without any reason, the pride of some sovereign countries," Sergeyev said.

New Coordinating Committee's Work Described

LD2205234193

[Editorial Report] Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian at 2230 GMT on 22 May carries a report in which CIS Executive Secretary Ivan Korotchenya, answering questions from an unidentified correspondent, stated that the coordinating and consultative committee of CIS states set up at the Moscow CIS summit would prepare all documents for summits, adopt certain decisions, and monitor the implementation of agreements. It will be accountable to the councils of heads of state and government.

He continued: "It will work in Minsk on an ad hoc basis. The deputy prime ministers, who will be members of this committee, will be in charge of it for six months each, in Russian alphabetical order. It will be convened as and when necessary, but at least once every two months."

The organizational meeting of the committee is to be held on 1 June 1993 in Minsk and will elect the chairman from among its members—CIS deputy prime ministers in charge of economics or commonwealth issues. In between summits, the executive secretariat of the Consultative and Coordination Committee will be in charge of day-to-day work. Korotchenya notes: "This is a working body, responsible for logistics support for the councils of heads of state and government. This is a body that works for these councils, and may take part in the work of other commonwealth bodies—defense or foreign affairs, for example."

The committee will aspire to reach the level of major international organizations in its work: "People should not note any difference between the work of international organizations in, let us say, Geneva, New York, Paris, or Minsk," Korotchenya adds.

Baltic, Nordic Officials Discuss Narcotics Control

WS2105141493 Tallinn BNS in English 0847 GMT 20 May 93

[Text] Tallinn, May 19, BNS—Officials from the Baltic and the Nordic countries discussed a number of issues in their struggle against illegal drugs during a two-day meeting in the Lohusalu seaside resort near Tallinn.

Nordic officials at the meeting said their countries must extend more help to Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania to cope with the emerging problems. They said it is essential to include the three into the anti-drug program of the Nordic countries.

The meeting pointed out that struggle with illegal drugs needs more political attention. In this connection it is vital for the Baltics to work closely with the Council of Baltic Sea States.

Delegations for the meeting included representatives from the Pompidou Group of the Council of Europe, the EC Cooperation Commission, the World Health Organization, the Nordic Council of Ministers, and the United Nations' International Drug Control Program, as well as officials from the countries' social affairs, justice, economics and foreign affairs ministries, and customs and police officials.

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 22 May

LD2205063693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0608 GMT 22 May 93

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, May 22 (TASS)—Newspapers describe provisions of a decree signed by President Boris Yeltsin on Friday [21 May] to call a constitutional assembly in Moscow on June 5.

The KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA newspaper notes that the assembly will include Russian lawmakers (a representative from each parliamentary group, apart from constitutional commission members), 50 representatives from the president and the cabinet, representatives from constituent members of the Russian Federation as well as 250 delegates from local administrative bodies.

The press continues to comment on progress in drafting a new constitution. Advantages of the presidential draft are that it is shorter as compared with the draft of the constitutional commission and is free from ideology, Chairman of the Russian Federation of Independent Trade Unions Igor Klochkov said in an interview with the TRUD newspaper published today.

The union leader noted at the same time that the presidential draft gives little attention to labour relations, says nothing about trade unions and social partnership. Klochkov is convinced that the new constitution should record the right to work, education, public health and protection from unemployment.

In the opinion of prominent lawyer Sergey Alekseyev, a member of the presidential council, also published in the TRUD newspaper, the presidential draft is based on all the existing drafts of the fundamental law: official, alternative and the one compiled by Vice-Premier Sergey Shakhray.

Alekseyev believes that the main point in the document is specifically spelled-out rights of citizens which can be defended in court.

Alekseyev disagrees with allegations that the draft constitution give unlimited powers to the president. He has no right to issue laws and has not administrative powers vested with the government.

Paying tribute to the presidential draft, Alekseyev notes at the same time that it would be right "to examine again the draft compiled by the Russian parliament and take all positive ideas from it. All positive ideas should be used without taking umbrage," he stressed.

Russian Communist Party leader Gennadiy Zyuganov also expressed his opinion on progress in drafting the new constitution in an interview with the PRAVDA newspaper.

He noted that, apart from the presidential draft, there are some others, including the one drafted "with the active participation of comminist legislators". Zyuganov claimed that "the president is in a hurry to thrust on society his version which is far from democratic".

The KRASNAYA ZVEZDA newspaper writes that Russian Defence Minister Pavel Grachev achieved progress concerning the presence of Russian troops in Lithuania during his recent visit to that republic.

"The two defence ministers discussed 18 military and technical issues dealing with the pullout of troops and successfully resolved nearly all of them," the newspaper states.

It expresses opinion that Lithuania's example "should prod Latvia and Estonia to the need, above all, for a political solution of the problem on troops' withdrawal".

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA prints an interview with Boris Pastukhov, the Russian president's personal representative on settling the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict, who returned to Moscow from Abkhazia on Friday.

He expressed opinion that the warring sides will ask a special representative of the U.N. secretary-general (who arrived in the conflict zone) for dispatching peace keepers from the United Nations or the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Pastukhov said that "a version of sending a military contingent by the Commonwealth of Independent States" is also quite probable.

An interview with Russian Deputy Security Minister Andrey Bykov, published by TRUD, deals with bugging telephone talks. He stressed that bugging is possible in case of criminal proceedings as well as instructions from an investigator or a prosecutor.

Bykov said that law-breakers who are engineering, committing or have commited crimes can also be bugged. Bykov assured readers that this does not include political surveillance.

He stressed that the Security Ministry does not conduct and will not conduct any surveillance for political reasons.

8

Kozyrev Continues U.S. Visit, Meets Officials

Meets Clinton, Lake, Christopher

LD2105150193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1357 GMT 21 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Korolyev and Georgiy Shmelyov]

[Text] Washington May 21 TASS—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, currently here to attend consultations on settlement in Bosnia and Herzegovina, met today U.S. President's National Security Adviser Anthony Lake.

U.S. President Bill Clinton came to the cabinet, where the meeting was held, and was presented a variant of actions to stop the bloodshed in former Yugoslavia, which was coordinated by the Russian foreign minister and the U.S. secretary of state on Thursday [20 May].

The closed door negotiations were also attended by U.S. State Secretary Warren Christopher. Correspondents were told nothing about the talks outcome.

Thursday's two rounds of Kozyrev-Christopher negotiations resulted in the sides agreement to specific steps to terminate war in Bosnia. In the next few days they will discuss these steps with other states participating in the settlement process, primarily Great Britain and France.

In this connection, Kozyrev and Christopher will meet today British Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs Douglas Hurd.

Comments on Bosnian Settlement Efforts

LD2105161493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1547 GMT 21 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Aleksandr Korolev and Georgiy Shmelyov]

[Text] Washington May 21 TASS—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, currently here to attend consultations on settlement in Bosnia and Herzegovina, met today U.S. president's National Security Adviser Anthony Lake.

U.S. President Bill Clinton came to the cabinet, where the meeting was held, and was presented a variant of actions to stop the bloodshed in former Yugoslavia, which was coordinated by the Russian foreign minister and the U.S. secretary of state on Thursday [20 May].

The closed door negotiations were also attended by U.S. State Secretary Warren Christopher. Correspondents were told nothing about the talks outcome.

"We are searching for a common approach to the extremely complicated problem", said the Russian minister. "I am sure a joint plan of action will be prepared". However, Kozyrev said they will have to consult European leaders first to have an efficient agreement. In the words of U.S. officials, it is primarily the matter of location of forces on the Serbian border to prevent the delivery of arms and other strategic cargo to Bosnian Serbs, as well as the creation of the so-called safety zones to protect civilians in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The measures will soon be discussed with other states, members of the settlement process, primarily Great Britain and France. In this connection, Kozyrev and Christopher will meet today British Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs Douglas Hurd.

'Very Well Satisfied' With Clinton Talks

LD2105174793 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1630 GMT 21 May 93

[Text] Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, who is in Washington on an official visit, has had talks with U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher, as we reported earlier. The main subject on their agenda was Bosnia-Herzegovina. Here is our Washington correspondent Boris Kalyagin:

[Kalyagin] Russia favors stepping up political and economic pressure on the Bosnian Serbs to accept the Vance-Owen plan. The suggestion is that international observers be placed on the border between the present Yugoslavia and Bosnia, a demilitarized zone set up around Sarajevo and five other Bosnian towns of mainly Muslim population, and an international tribunal formed to investigate war crimes during the Bosnian conflict. The U.S. Administration considered that a more effective method would be to supply arms to the Bosnian Muslims and mount selective air strikes against the positions of the Bosnian Serbs. In light of objections from Russia and its West European partners, however, the United States said it would be willing to examine other options.

The first round of the current negotiations has already shown, Andrey Kozyrev said, that Russia and the United States have full mutual understanding on all the fundamental political issues. After two meetings, the Russian and U.S. ministers announced that they have reached agreement on specific measures to stabilize the Bosnian problem, and will discuss these later with Britain and France. They did not specify the measures, but it is known that they do not include military action. This morning U.S. President Bill Clinton received the Russian minister at the White House.

I asked Andrey Vladimirovich to tell me how his talk with the President went.

[Begin Kozyrev recording] I am very well satisfied with the meeting, at which I naturally conveyed to the President greetings from President Yeltsin. He was interested in the progress of the political process in Russia. I told him of the latest events and shared our plans with him, above all our plans for constitutional and economic reform. Of course we also talked about Yugoslav affairs. [end recording]

Talks With Christopher Detailed

PM2105181793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 May 93 First Edition p 1

[Aleksandr Shalnev report: "Christopher and Kozyrev Satisfied With Talks in Washington, But United States Markedly Scales Back Its Involvement in Solving the Crisis in Yugoslavia"]

[Text] Washington—After holding two rounds of talks in Washington Thursday [20 May], U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher and his Russian colleague Andrey Kozyrev expressed satisfaction with their meetings, which, in the secretary of state's words, were "detailed and productive."

According to available information, there have been no radical advances as yet, although it is not ruled out that after the new series of meetings scheduled for Friday, in which British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd will join, there will be real progress in narrowing the gap between the positions of the Europeans and Russians on the one hand, and the United States on the other.

It is well known—and Secretary of State Christopher spoke about this a few days ago with a directness and harshness uncharacteristic of him—that Washington is not overjoyed with Kozyrev's idea of gradually implementing the Vance-Owen plan. In essence Washington has in general now turned aside from Bosnian matters, declaring that events in the former Yugoslavia are primarily a European problem and that it is primarily up to the Europeans to sort it out. In part, this stance also reflects the mood of ordinary Americans, who, as many polls indicate, are not inclined to suggest that the United States should demonstrate greater activeness in the Balkans than the Europeans. In part it is evidence of a shift in priorities in the activity of the Clinton White House, which, after dabbling a little in foreign policy and running up against the Europeans' disagreement with its Yugoslav initiatives, has switched almost completely to the problems of the "domestic" economy.

Maybe in these conditions the persistence shown by Russian diplomacy in order to make America "turn back" to Yugoslav problems is causing a certain amount of irritation at the White House. It is noteworthy that against all Kozyrev's expectations President Bill Clinton did not meet with him Thursday. It was intimated that the White House chief was very busy. However, a busy schedule did not stop Clinton from meeting with Kyrgyzstan's President Akayev Thursday, although this meeting did not figure in the preliminary schedule.

Nevertheless, Kozyrev will see Clinton Friday morning. As Secretary of State Christopher announced, the President, despite his heavy schedule, "has made time for a short meeting."

It is expected that the Russian minister will travel to New York Friday, where he will hold talks with UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali.

Arrives in New York, Confers on Bosnia

LD2205064893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0602 GMT 22 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Menkes]

[Text] United Nations, May 22 (TASS)—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, who arrived in New York to continue consultations on the problem of settlement in Bosnia and Herzegovina, had a meeting here on Friday evening with U.N. Secretary General Butrus Butrus Ghali.

Upon the conclusion of the one hour and a half talk the Russian foreign minister told journalists accredited at the United Nations: "We together with our partners and the secretary general are working on the further specification of a plan of actions in regard to former Yugoslavia. And I feel quite optimistic. I think we'll manage to work out a good programme of actions."

There is also an appreciable advance in realizing "the agenda for peace," the foreign minister went on to say.

Answering to a correspondent's question whether a meeting of four foreign ministers takes place in Washington, Andrey Kozyrev said that it was one of possible variants. Speaking about the Washington meeting with the head of the U.S. Administration, the Russian foreign minister said: "We had a businesslike and constructive dialogue with the president in the morning today (on Friday—ITAR-TASS). I am fully satisfied with his approach to what we are doing."

Meets With Butrus-Ghali

LD2205132693 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1100 GMT 22 May 93

[Text] Russian Federation Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev has held a meeting with UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali in New York. After the conversation, the Russian minister told journalists accredited to the UN that, together with Russia's partners and the UN secretary general, work is being done on further specifying the plan of action with regard to the former Yugoslavia. He expressed the hope that by joint efforts it will be possible to draw up a good program of action.

Meets With Other Foreign Ministers

LD2305093893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0925 GMT 23 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Aleksandr Korolev and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Washington May 23 TASS—A joint action programme to "extinguish the terrible war" in Bosnia and restore lasting peace in the region was adopted by five foreign ministers—those of the United States, Russia, Britain, France, and Spain—at their meeting which ended in the U.S. capital on Saturday [22 May].

The negotiators reaffirmed the community of views on the most productive and urgent measures which the world community must take to help put out the flames of war in Bosnia and bring about a lasting and fair settlement on the strength of the respective resolutions of the U.N. Security Council, the programme points out.

The five—Warren Christopher, Andrey Kozyrev, Douglas Hurd, Alain Juppe, and Javier Solana—reaffirmed that they would continue to render humanitarian aid to the population of Bosnia and Herzegovina, seeking to ensure an unimpeded delivery of aid supplies to those who need them, the programme says.

The sides came out in favour of strict compliance with the sanctions applied by the U.N. Security Council against Serbia and Montenegro until Security Council Resolution 820 is implemented, including a withdrawal of the troops of Bosnian Serbs from territories seized by force.

Noting Belgrade's pledge to close the border with Bosnia and Herzegovina to put pressure on the Bosnian Serbs and compel them to accept the peace plan, the five ministers also emphasised Zagreb's readiness to monitor the situation on the Croatian-Bosnian border.

As far as the France-suggested concept of the establishment of "safe areas" on the territory of Bosnia is concerned, participants in the Washington talks declared in favour of the earliest passage of a new Security Council resolution which is now under discussion. Britain and France have already sent their contingents to the "safe areas" and Russia considers the possibility of sending servicemen there in addition to those who are in Croatia.

The United States, the programme stresses, is prepared to meet its commitments and help ensure the safety of the U.N. peacekeeping force if the latter is attacked and if such a request is made. A no-fly zone must be maintained over Bosnia, the ministers believe. At the same time they support the idea of setting up an international tribunal as soon as possible to bring to justice those responsible for war crimes.

A political settlement in Bosnia and Herzegovina on the basis of the Vance-Owen plan and the expansion of international cooperation is the way to durable peace in the region, the action programme points out.

Speaking about the situation in Central Bosnia and Herzegovina, the ministers expressed deep concern about ongoing clashes there between the Bosnian Croats and the Bosnian Government troops.

They decided to warn Croatia that any support for the Bosnian Croats involved in armed clashes and practising "ethnic cleansing" would result in the application of international sanctions against it.

The ministers agreed on close cooperation to prevent the conflict from spreading over to neighbouring states, which would be fraught with most serious consequences.

The five emphasised that an aggression against the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia would have grave consequences. As far as the situation in Kosovo is concerned, the ministers support the idea of expanding the presence of international monitors there.

Speaking about the situation in Croatia, the ministers emphasised that the government of Croatia and the local Serbian authorities should observe the ceasefire and conduct a constructive dialogue aimed at resolving practical, economic and, in the long run, political problems.

The ministers pointed out that if necessary new most diverse and tougher measures might be taken to settle the conflict.

Commentary Views U.S. 'Small-Minded' Acts

LD2305175693 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1508 GMT 23 May 93

[Text] Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev ends his foreign visit today, during which ways to end the bloodshed in Bosnia- Herzegovina were discussed. Our special correspondent Viktor Levin reports from Washington.

[Levin] The intensive negotiations have resulted in a program of joint action adopted by the foreign ministers of Russia, the United States, Great Britain, France, and Spain, who have pooled their efforts in accordance with a mandate from the United Nations and the European Community. The document is a compromise and each country can read it the way it wants to. However, whichever way one reads it, one cannot fail to see what is not there: first and foremost, attempts at military intervention or actions such as lifting the embargo on arms supplies, which could add fuel to the fire.

In my opinion, Kozyrev's week-long visit—during which he held talks with leaders of the Yugoslav states in Split and Belgrade, with representatives of the Western European Union in Rome, with Germany's foreign minister in Berlin, with the UN secretary general in New York, and with top-ranking U.S. administration officials in Washington—has become a landmark in Russia's foreign policy. First, the visit has shown that Russia is a key player in the world community's efforts to bring about a settlement in the former Yugoslavia. Second, the visit has strengthened Russia's relations with Western Europe. And third, it has shown the United States that sabre-rattling causes alarm among all the partners involved in settling the Yugoslav crisis. I realize that it is desirable to substantiate all the scenarios mentioned, but here in Washington it is the third point which is attracting particular attention.

On the grounds that UN action has not yet resulted in an end to the bloodshed, the United States proposed that more decisive action be taken, including bombing attacks. One cannot but agree that the UN measures have turned out to be much less effective than what is desirable and necessary. However, the assertion that gasoline is the best thing for putting out a fire is not at all convincing. I cannot remember a similar instance of U.S. proposals being rejected so unanimously. As the events of this week have shown, Washington has found it difficult to come terms with this fact.

You will recall that Kozyrev left Moscow on Monday, thinking that the Security Council would be meeting at foreign ministerial level on Friday to adopt a resolution embodying a scheme for consistent implementation of the Vance-Owen plan. By refusing to take part in the sitting, U.S. Secretary of State Christopher effectively scuppered it. Furthermore, a big question mark is now hanging over the Vance-Owen plan itself, but it is thanks to Russian diplomatic efforts that a way out of the impasse has been found, as the plan for joint action shows.

With all due respect for the United States as a great and prestigious state, I have to say that Washington reacted in a pretty small-minded way to the failure of the suggestions for military intervention, as a number of incidents showed: for example, President Clinton's meeting with Kozyrev was set only at the very last moment. It took place not in the president's Oval Office, but in the office of his national security assistant. A pretty nasty trick—I can think of no other word for it—was played upon the Russian journalists. To start with, the State Department said that the press would not be let into the White House; then it turned out that U.S. journalists got invitations, whereas the Russian ones did not. Yesterday, before the joint action program was adopted, the State Department announced that in the morning Christopher would have a meeting with French Foreign Minister Juppe, while three other ministers—of Russia, Great Britain, and Spain—might join them. I am quite prepared to admit that no one likes a slap in the face—I mean the rejection of the American proposals on former Yugoslavia; but the response should clearly be in keeping with the standards of diplomacy. Yes, the United States must certainly be taken into account, but Russia cannot and must not allow any disrespect toward itself.

It is an immutable law of diplomacy, that one does as one would be done by. If Russia gets its own back, so to speak, on the Americans for the pinpricks they have dealt out over the last few days—and there are grounds for thinking that Russia will indeed do so—that will be another Brownie point notched up for Andrey Kozyrev on his latest foreign tour.

Comments on Participation in Peace Plan

LD2305212193 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 2007 GMT 23 May 93

[By Vladimir Solovyev, including recording of remarks by Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev to journalists after deplaning at Belgrade airport; date not given; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Solovyev] Andrey Kozyrev, arriving in Belgrade this week, said that no attention should be paid to the results of the referendum of the Serb Republic [in Bosnia-Herzegovina] and that there is no alternative to the Vance-Owen peace plan. In his words, a contingent from Russia will also take part in the implementation of the peace plan.

[Kozyrev] President Yeltsin proceeds from the concept of extinguishing the fire in Bosnia and from the fact that fire-fighters would be needed for this. Indeed our battalion is already serving there and only just now the chief, the general commanding all UN operations in Bosnia gave me a high appraisal of the service by our battalion of the peace-making forces. Absolutely all those I have spoken to agree with this appraisal. We are certain that if required, Russia will not lag behind in this area, just as it has not done so in the search for a political settlement, in diplomatic activity, and in the area of observers and peace-keeping forces.

[Solovyev] At the proposal of the Russian president, the extinguishing of the fire in the Balkans could begin with the gradual implementation of the peace plan in those regions where that is possible. The steps which Andrey Kozyrev discussed this week in Bonn, Belgrade, Rome, and Washington include an increase in the blue helmets in Bosnia from 9,000 to 40,000, a continuation of the blockade of Yugoslavia, and the placement of special observers on the borders of Yugoslavia and the Serb Republic and then on the borders of Bosnia and Croatia also.

Ends Visit to U.S.

LD2305211493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2054 GMT 23 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Aleksandr Korolyov and Georgiy Shmelyov]

[Text] Washington May 24 TASS—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev has ended his visit to the United States. In Washington and New York, he held talks with U.S. President Bill Clinton, the U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher and other top officials of the U.S. Administration.

Kozyrev met with the U.N. Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali and foreign ministers of Great Britain, France and Spain. The meetings focused on looking for ways of ceasing the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

As a result of intensive discussions, a joint programme of actions, prepared by the sides, was adopted, which is regarded as the first considerable step forward in the process of stage-by- stage settlement of the Bosnian crisis.

On Sunday, the Russian foreign minister left for Moscow.

Details Results of Talks

LD2405090293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0818 GMT 24 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Moscow May 24 TASS—"Unfortunately, we are dealing with a very intractable situation and have no illusions that this first round of our efforts will immediately bring peace. It is more of a concerted effort to gradually move to peace. I think we've passed the point of hope for instant results and of instant disappointment," Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev told journalists at Moscow's Vnukovo airport upon his return from Washington, where the foreign ministers of the United States, Russia, Great Britain, France and Spain discussed ways to stop the bloodshed in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The ministers were able to adopt a joint programme of action.

On the initiative of the Russian president, Kozyrev had previously visited Berlin, Rome, Split and Belgrade, where he met leaders of Germany, Italy, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, the United Yugoslavian Republic, Serbia and Montenegro, and discussed with them ways to settle the conflict in the region.

Says Muslim Rejection 'Unacceptable'

AU2405102093 Paris AFP in English 0947 GMT 24 May 93

[Text] Moscow, May 24 (AFP)—The rejection by the Bosnian Muslim leadership of the latest international plan for containing the conflict in former Yugoslavia is unacceptable and will delay a peaceful solution of the crisis, Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev said here Monday [24 May].

"We won't take a 'no' from the Bosnian Serbs and neither will we agree to a 'no' from the Bosnian Muslims to this new concept," Kozyrev told reporters on his return to Moscow following talks in Washington.

Kozyrev said the rejection of the latest 12-point plan worked out by Russia, the United States, Britain, France and Spain was equivalent to saying "no to any reasonable political solution" to the conflict.

He said it was important to begin implementing the new plan and to "go from action to action, pressing and persuading the parties to choose peace rather than war."

His remarks came a day after the president of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Alija Izetbegovic, described the new plan as "absolutely unacceptable for us" and stated it amounted to recognizing the territorial gains made by Bosnian Serb forces.

The new plan calls notably for posting observers along the border between Bosnia and Serbia to ensure Belgrade keeps its promise to stop aiding Serb forces in Bosnia and for the deployment of international forces in Macedonia, The Serbian province of Kosovo, and Croatia.

Kozyrev described Izetbegovic's rejection of the plan as "more than strange" and asserted that the Bosnian Muslim leader had supported the concept when Kozyrev met with him in the southern Croatian city of Split last week.

The minister said it was too late to hope for "instant results" in international efforts to resolve the conflict, which he described as "very intractable."

"We are under no illusion that this first round of efforts will immediatelly bring peace," he said.

Comments on Washington Bosnia Deal

LD2405103393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0910 GMT 24 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Moscow, 24 May (ITAR-TASS)—The program of joint action approved in Washington, based on the concept of "extinguishing the fire of war in Bosnia", clearly defines the conditions for settling the conflict in the region, Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev believes. Speaking to journalists on the way home, Andrey Kozyrev stressed that following the results of the referendum in Bosnia-Herzegovina, it has become clear that urgent measures must be taken to ensure that the Vance-Owen plan "does not become derailed." It is necessary to "intercept the process" quickly, the Russian minister went on, in order to prevent all the efforts of the cochairmen of the coordinating committee of the international conference on former Yugoslavia from coming to nought and to stop aggressive forces in that region from exploiting the situation to cause further bloodshed.

That, the minister stressed, is why the Russian president decided to take urgent measures in order at least to stabilize the situation and to prevent a split in the international community on this issue. This was the aim behind the Russian foreign minister's mission to seek gradual, progressive implementation of the Vance-Owen plan, a mission which has just ended. Andrey Kozyrev's consultations with his counterparts in Germany and Rome and with the leadership of Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, the FRY, Serbia, and Montenegro demonstrated that all the parties to the negotiations support the Russian initiative. One of the most important problems in the current conditions is, in the minister's opinion, that of dispelling differences with the U.S. side. The Americans, he pointed out, are backing a different policy—a policy of suppressing the conflict by force. That, the minister believes, is why the partners cannot wait any longer and must act to forestall them, so as to prevent a split—which would be disastrous, especially for Yugoslavia itself.

The document signed in the U.S. capital—the program of joint action—suggests that there will be no such split. How will the program to extinguish the fire of war in

Bosnia be further implemented, then? The Russian minister believes that this program will be a twin-track one: the program will be used for work with all parties to the conflict in Bosnia, and to bring about international accord.

Andrey Kozyrev said that the Vance-Owen plan is "no picnic, far from it." It essentially offers some sort of mechanism for putting guidelines into practice, and with time it should naturally undergo certain changes and additions. It is important to note, the Russian minister went on, that this document mentions for the first time the possibility of introducing sanctions against Croatia, even though Croatia has signed the Vance-Owen plan.

The Russian minister believes that "no measures are ruled out for Yugoslav peacemaking, although the situation is extremely difficult. He pointed out the need for Russia to pursue a "balanced policy" on a peaceful settlement in the region. This will be of particular importance, the minister pointed out, for restoring spiritual, cultural, and historical Russian-Yugoslav ties.

Rutskoy Says Russia 'Thoroughly Submissive' to U.S.

LD2305143093 Tehran IRNA in English 1404 GMT 23 May 93

[Text] Moscow, May 23, IRNA—Russia has now become thoroughly submissive to the West and the U.S., said Russian Vice-President Aleksandr Rutskoy here. Yet, he said that he is not advocating confrontation with the U.S. but seriously opposes any unilateral tendency towards the West.

Rutskoy in an interview with IRNA also criticized Russian President Boris Yeltsin for proclaiming the draft constitution as legal and said that Yeltsin's move would not result in the settlement of the country's crisis.

The only way to end the war on the constitution is that its ratification goes through its legal procedures, he said.

The Yeltsin-proposed constitution is to be put on referendum on June 5.

Friendly bonds between the countries must be based on human values, peace and non-interference in each others' internal affairs, Rutskoy underlined but regretted that such bonds do not exist between Russia and the U.S.

He blamed the West for disintegration of the former Soviet Union and said that the Iran-Iraq war and the Persian Gulf war were a prelude to the "West's conspiracy".

The Russian official termed as "hypocritical" the holding of periodical meetings between the members of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) and said as long as they run a blood-bath in Azerbaijan, Armenia and Tajikistan, it is no more possible to speak of friendship among the newly-independent republics of the former Soviet Union.

The dismantling of the Soviet Union was beneficial only for the conspirators, Rutskoy specified.

Turning to relations with Iran, he said that Iran is a great country rooted in history and enjoying economic potentials. Russia should make efforts towards consolidation of its all-out ties with Iran, he added.

He said the historical message of the late leader of the Islamic revolution Imam Khomeyni to the last Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev was "word of justice."

He also called for setting aside all religious differences and noted that all divine books, including the Koran and the Bible, invite mankind to peace.

TV Notes U.S. Protest Over PRAVDA Article

LD2205114993 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1100 GMT 22 May 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The United States has protested to Moscow about reports that PRAVDA has published an article accusing Jews of shedding Christian blood for religious purposes. A spokesman for the U.S. State Department said Russian diplomats in Washington have already sharply condemned the publication of the article, saying that the Russian authorities are invariably striving to ensure equal rights for all the peoples of the country.

Trade Union Leader Charges AFL-CIO With Interference

MK2105111693 Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 21 May 93 p 2

[Interview with Vasiliy Romanov, chairman of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia, FITUR, by Viktor Ukolov in Moscow; date not given: "Not to Split, But to Unite. FITUR Works Out Concept for Its Development in the Context of Transition to Market Economy"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Romanov] Special concern is aroused by the threat of a split within the domestic trade union movement coming from abroad, in particular from the American Federation of Labor-the Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO). Representatives of this organization, under the guise of a seemingly respectable program of training trade union activists, are holding "seminars" wherever they wish, using them to conduct active agitation for secession from FITUR and opening AFL-CIO offices in various regions.

With material and technical assistance from the AFL-CIO, a Russian-American Institute of Trade Union Studies and Education has been established in Moscow, with P. Kudyukin, former deputy labor minister, appointed as its director. This man, beginning in spring 1992, with the mediation of M. Boyce, second secretary of the U.S. Embassy, held talks on the creation of the institute with the AFL-CIO representative in Moscow, T. Bradley.

This undisguised interference, inadmissible in any country, unfortunately, is taking place with the full connivance of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. We are in favor of using foreign experience but categorically against interference in the internal affairs of the Russian trade unions. [passage omitted]

End of SDI Program Noted; Costs Said 'All in Vain'

LD2205213893 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 2010 GMT 22 May 93

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] The U.S. Administration's announcement this week about winding up the SDI program will evoke nothing but satisfaction as an indication that military confrontation between the two countries is now over. Moscow has welcomed the move eloquent enough to need any further comment. [sentence as heard] Yet the demise of Mr. Reagan's [word indistinct] program gives rise to contemplation, including the $30 billion worth of spending for the Star Wars project at the cost of U.S. taxpayers and the enormous cost of the arms race both to the United States and the former Soviet Union, which, as history shows it, was all in vain.

Much of this is being suppressed by politicians and the mass media alike. Instead, as a way of diverting public attention, an argument is (?fiddled) out to prove that the SDI was needed to win the cold war. More recently a U.S. radio station said that if one day historians conclude that the SDI helped force the Soviet leaders to back down in the arms race and to bring nearer the breakdown of communism, the $30 billion spent had been properly used.

The premise itself seems to be wrong, though many of Russia's economic troubles of today are largely linked to the enormous defense spending in the past, but the same applies to U.S. economic troubles as well. The peoples of both countries now have to pay the cost of excessive ambitions and shortsighted policies of their leaders. As for the argument of breaking the backbone of communism, the Soviet economy was bound to collapse because of the irrational goals set more than 70 years ago, rather than Reagan's Star Wars plan or the superpower arms race. So today's attempts to try to explain the breakup of the former Soviet Union by U.S. muscle-flexing is nothing but an effort to sweeten the bitter pill of miscalculation and misjudgment by U.S. Administrations of the past.

Commentary Welcomes U.S. Recognition of Angolan Government

MB2105112993 Moscow Radio Moscow in Afrikaans 1700 GMT 20 May 93

[Aleksey Litvinov commentary—read by announcer]

[Text] The step which has for a long time been anticipated from the U.S. Administration, has finally materialized. President Clinton has acted within the framework of his program of worldwide support for democracy, and has admitted that earlier U.S. policy regarding Angola, was a mistake. The bold step taken to improve the situation in Angola warrants our appreciation. In this context, the president's announcement of the United States's new Angolan policy, was indeed a significant statement.

He said that on his arrival at the White House, his initial intention had been to continue the policy of previous governments and postpone the official recognition of the Angolan Government, but he had since convinced himself that such a policy had no room for any prospects, especially now that UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] has continually rejected the peace plans brokered by the United Nations, Portugal, Russia and the United States to resolve the Angolan crisis.

REUTER's analysts insist that the decision by U.S. Government indicates that he wants to promote UNITA's international isolation, and this is a signal that the international community will not allow a military victory by UNITA's Jonas Savimbi in Angola. Various observers also conclude that the U.S. initiatives are further breaking down the last walls inherited from the Cold War when the United States and the USSR where vying for influence in Third World countries. We believe that this opinion is not unfounded. The world situation is changing constantly and political duels are disappearing, but it would not be redundant to remind you that the Angolan nation supported Eduardo dos Santos's government in last year's September elections, while UNITA has today virtually lost the support of its last supporter, especially since Luanda's recognition by Washington.

In our view, the civil war in Angola is not only being waged for ideological reasons as suggested in Western countries. We see it as very significant that the South African Government is currently increasing its pressure on UNITA. Besides South Africa reopening its embassy in Luanda which was withdrawn when hostilities came to a head in the Angolan capital after the election, South Africa is also taking appropriate measures to prevent UNITA units from operating from South African territory.

In 1992, South Africa announced ending support to UNITA, but according to several sources, unofficial help for UNITA was still forthcoming. Even as recently as April, the influential paper THE PRETORIA NEWS called on the South African Government to launch a thorough investigation into allegations of military assistance to UNITA. The president announced on 14 May that firm control be introduced to curb air transport to Angola. This announcement by the South African president, cannot only be seen as an attempt at further normalization of relations with Luanda, but also as a clear indication of steps toward reforms in South Africa itself.

As one could have expected, the opposition groupings did not react negatively to the American recognition of the Angolan Government, except for UNITA. Observers point out that Luanda has already agreed to UN peace plans. Which concessions are still needed at the moment now that the ball is in the opposition's court? It would be particularly bad if UNITA refused a place in government and instead allowed the civil war in the country to drag on, especially if it has stored up enough weapons to be able to do so for the next few years. Let us hope that UNITA's leaders will realize that a military solution to the Angolan conflict which has already ruined and devastated the country, is futile.

Shumeyko, Cuba's Soto Positively Assess Russo-Cuban Talks

LD2205081993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0754 GMT 22 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Sereda]

[Text] Havana May 22 TASS—Vladimir Shumeyko, first deputy prime minister of the Russian Federation, who heads a Russian governmental delegation staying in Cuba on a working visit, has positively assessed the course of the Russo-Cuban talks.

During a trip to a number of economic objects in the Havana and Matanzas provinces he told journalists that a dialogue was developing successfully.

For the first time both sides discuss the establishment of mutually beneficial relations and we offer to set up joint ventures for this purpose, the Russian vice premier said. Our delegation includes representatives of various major Russian firms which are establishing direct contacts with Cuban businessmen, for example, in the sphere of oil and chemistry and fishery, Shumeyko said. On the whole, Russia is interested in renewing economic and trade relations which the former Soviet Union had maintained with Middle East countries, India, Cuba and other states where our technologies are used, Shumeyko said.

Lionel Soto, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of Cuba [title as received], who heads a Cuban delegation at the talks, has also positively assessed them. The present talks are the continuation of a dialogue started in Moscow in November 1992, he said. As a result of the last year talks, the sides signed an agreement on deliveries of Cuban sugar in exchange for Russian oil. Then both sides had difficulties in implementing the agreement, but now measures to correct the situation are being discussed.

Joint Memorandum Signed

LD2305115093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1020 GMT 23 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Sereda]

[Text] Havana, 23 May—Talks between Russian and Cuban Government delegations ended here today with the signing of a joint memorandum.

Over four days, the Russian and Cuban delegations, headed respectively by Vladimir Shumeyko, first deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers, and Lionel Soto, deputy chairman of the Cuban Council of Ministers, have been holding talks about the present state of the trading and economic links between the two countries, and the prospects for these links.

Our working visit was fairly short but very busy, Vladimir Shumeyko said in a conversation with journalists before leaving for home. A large number of contacts and working meetings ended with a three-hour conversation with Cuban leader Fidel Castro, which showed that our countries can cooperate successfully and maintain mutually profitable economic relations.

The head of the Russian delegation said: The memorandum we signed will give a new impetus to developing the economic relations between Russia and Cuba. Whereas previously the Soviet Union helped Cuba, now we will cooperate with it on a mutually advantageous basis. We will launch out on a number of joint projects in the next few months, without further ado, Vladimir Shumeyko said.

Lionel Soto, deputy chairman of the Cuban Council of Ministers, said the talks with the Russian government delegation "fully succeeded." He pointed out the promising nature of the economic links between Cuba and Russia, which were built up when Russia was still part of the Soviet Union.

Shumeyko Returns to Moscow

LD2305184793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1810 GMT 23 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Igor Shubin]

[Text] Moscow May 23 TASS—Russian First Vice Premier Vladimir Shumeyko returned to Moscow on Sunday [23 May] after the completion of brief working visits to the U.S.A. and Cuba.

During the negotiations with U.S. leaders mutual understanding was achieved on a number of problems linked with the internal situation in Russia and other CIS countries in political, economic and other spheres.

During the stay in Havana Vladimir Shumeyko and Cuban Vice Premier Lionel Soto discussed a number of issues relating with the economic cooperation between Russia and Cuba. According to observers, this visit and negotiations will give a new impetus to signed trade and economic agreements and permit to realise a number of joint projects in the near future.

ANC Sees No Problems in Relations With Russia

LD2105193393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1824 GMT 21 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Nikishov]

[Text] Moscow May 21 TASS—"The ANC [African National Congress] does not have any problems in relations with Russia at present and we will develop them mindful of changes in South Africa," said Tabo Mbeki, a member of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) National Executive Committee.

He arrived in Moscow from Beijing on Thursday [20 May] together with Joe Modise, another member of the ANC's leadership. They held talks in the Russian Foreign Ministry, specifically Deputy Minister Anatoliy Adamishin. The two are also expected to meet senior officials of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations.

At a press conference here today, Mbeki said the principal goal of the visit was the desire to inform the Russian leaders about the development of the situation in South Africa. Possibly, an agreement on the terms for holding elections in the country, which should be held until April 1994, will be reached at multi-party talks on the future of South Africa in June, he noted.

Interference on the part of the U.N. may be required by the end of this year to monitor preparations for and the forthcoming elections in South Africa. In this regard, ANC leaders hold consultations with the permanent members of the U.N. Security Council, including China and Russia, to muster their support during the upcoming discussion of this issue at the United Nations.

Mbeki said the ANC leaders are also prepared to discuss military issues with Russia. The beginning to such a discussion has already been set during this visit, he emphasised.

Also today the ANC delegation met Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Boris Kolokolov and in the Foreign Ministry's Africa Department.

ANC's Mbeki, Modise Meet Officials

MB2205051793 Moscow Radio Moscow in Afrikaans 1700 GMT 21 May 93

[Text] The first deputy minister of foreign affairs in Russia, Mr. Anatoliy Adamishin, held talks in Moscow today with an African National Congress [ANC] delegation under the leadership of the movement's secretary for foreign affairs, Mr. Thabo Mbeki, and another member of the National Executive Council, Mr. Joe Modise. They exchanged views on the political situation in South Africa, issues surrounding the creation of a new democratic order in South Africa, as well as possibilities of closer links with the ANC. On the same day the ANC held talks with a second deputy foreign minister, Mr. Boris Kolokolov. They visited the Africa Division of the Russian Foreign Ministry.

Commentary Views Visit

MB2205051993 Moscow Radio Moscow in Afrikaans 1700 GMT 21 May 93

[Text] An African National Congress [ANC] delegation is presently visiting Moscow. Thabo Mbeki and Joe Modise, members of the National Executive Committee, form part of the delegation which visited Singapore and China earlier this year. Vladislav Chernukha comments:

[Chernukha] The ANC delegation's visit to Moscow coincides with the imminent realization of an agreement on true democracy and the development of a nonracial society in South Africa. During talks between the government and 25 parties and organizations, it was agreed that the date for the holding of a nonracial election will be announced at the beginning of next month. President F.W. de Klerk's government said earlier that the election will take place before May next year. The members attending multilateral talks are close to reaching an agreement on the composition of a new government during the transition period.

Now that black South Africans will become part of the ruling body in South Africa, it has become necessary for talks between the ANC and Moscow. In the past Moscow had given military and political support to this big liberation movement in South Africa. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, and the creation of an independent Russia, Moscow continued its support to the ANC in its efforts to bring about democratic change in South Africa. Relations between Moscow and the ANC were somewhat strained when Moscow made contact with the liberal government of F.W. de Klerk, and by restoring diplomatic ties between the two countries. Moscow was, and is still, committed to the total eradication of apartheid and the creation of a democratic and nonracial South Africa.

Spokesman Blasts UNITA's Approach in Angola

LD2105125593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1209 GMT 21 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Staroselskiy]

[Text] Moscow May 21 TASS—The "openly unconstructive approach" of UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] opposition leader Jonas Savimbi to talks with the Angolan Government can bring the negotiations into a deadlock, according to Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman.

"It seems that a multi-week long meeting of the government representatives and the UNITA opposition movement in Abidjan will yield no results" because of "openly unconstructive approach" of the UNITA leadership and personally of Jonas Savimbi, Sergey Yastrzhemsbkiy told a briefing on Friday [21 May].

"We welcome the decision of the U.S. Administration to recognise the lawful Government of Angola" which corresponds to Russian efforts in the UN Security Council calling to acknowledge the new political realities which emerged in Angola after democratic elections last September, the spokesman said.

He expressed hope that the UNITA leadership will display political realism and responsibility and will resume contacts with the Government of Angola in order to immediately cease-fire and reach a just and lasting peace on the basis of UN resolutions, Yastrzhembskiy said.

Khasbulatov Addresses 'Arab World' Conference

LD2105135593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1302 GMT 21 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Igor Ivantsov and Sergey Postanogov]

[Text] Moscow May 21 TASS—"Russia is sincerely interested in economic, scientific, technologic and cultural cooperation with the Arab nations for the sake of peace and concord, and in the state interests of the Russian Federation," Chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet Ruslan Khasbulatov told the international conference on "Russia and the Arab world: problems and prospects of business cooperation", which opened here today.

The conference is being attended by representatives from more than twenty Arab states, speakers of the Russian and Arab parliaments, heads of key ministries and other agencies, eminent scientists and experts in politics, science and technology, as well as prominent cultural figures.

It is planned to devote two days to the discussion of economic, scientific, technical and cultural cooperation problems, the main areas of interaction for the sake of peace and concord in the Middle East, as well as problems linked with the perfection of legislations relating to foreigners doing business in the Russian Federation, with the conversion of the military-industrial complex, with the financial situation, banking and other problems.

The conference participants will be given a chance not only to study the economic situation in Russia, but to establish business contacts with their potential partners.

Rutskoy on Ties With 'Arab World'

LD2105160093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1357 GMT 21 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Igor Ivantsov and Sergey Postanogov]

[Text] Moscow May 21 TASS—Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy described an international conference with the theme "Russia and the Arab world" that opened here today as "another step of Russia and the Arab world to meet each other halfway".

The official noted Russia and the Arab world, should have closer economic relations, being neighbours, and stressed they have not only the similarity of economic interests but also the resource and scientific-technical potential.

"The Russian-Arab relations have been traditionally friendly and good-neighbourly," First Russian Vice Premier Oleg Soskovets told the conference. Despite temporary economic difficulties Russia has, a new stage of Russian-Arab economic cooperation, the sides are entering, should embody previous positive experience.

Interests of new Russia give a priority to boosted relations with the Arab world, primarily in trade, economy and investments, stressed the first vice premier. Russia is extremely interested in Arab investments in its key economic branches.

Specialized export-import banks set up on a bilateral or multilateral basis, funds of economic cooperation and trade houses could help to develop Russian-Arab business relations, he noted.

Dwelling on major aspects of Russian-Arab economic cooperation, Russian Minister of Foreign Economic Relations Sergey Glazyev noted last year's Russian goods turnover with these states amounted to almost 1.5 billion U.S. dollars.

Despite the Russian economic crisis, construction of industrial facilities with Russian technical assistance is underway in some Arab states, investment projects are being elaborated in Egypt, Algeria and Morocco.

Russian reforms have created a possibility to boost direct contacts of Russian and Arab enterprises, and the Russian Government plans to encourage their future development, he said. Work is being done to renovate trade regime with Arab states. An agreement on trade and economic cooperation has been signed with Egypt, similar documents are being prepared to be signed with Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia and other Arab states.

In Glazyev's opinion, a reason hampering the development of trade relations is the unsettled issue of the 32 billion U.S. dollar Arab debt to Russia. The sum of overdue payments on the debt is over seven billion dollars, which is a heavy burden for Russian enterprises.

Still negotiations on the issue, which have recently started, give grounds to hope Arab states will be able to pay the debt, including with the delivery of goods to Russia.

The use of Arab financial abilities to carry out various projects in Russia can help to expand the Russian-Arab mutually beneficial economic cooperation, believes Glazyev. Thus, a Russian-Arab trade and financial corporation is being created to not only increase trade turnover, but also improve joint credit, financial, investment and insurance activities.

Glazyev said the most promising cooperation areas are machine- building, oil and gas-processing, power engineering, metallurgy and the aerospace industry.

Conference Ends; Final Document Issued

LD2205203493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2007 GMT 22 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Igor Ivantsov and Sergey Postanogov]

[Text] Moscow May 22 TASS—A "Russia and the Arab World: Problems of and Perspectives for Business Cooperation" international conference ended in Moscow on Saturday [22 May]. The conference was attended by statesmen, politicians, businessmen from Russia and Arab countries. The participants exchanged opinions of urgent problems of the development of relations of bilateral and multilateral business cooperation.

The final document notes the concurrence of Russia's long-term interests and those of Arab countries in questions of the regional and global security. The rejection of ideological dogmas and the reforms conducted in Russia have become factors, contributing to deepening Arab-Russian cooperation and broadening foreign economic activity.

At the same time, the participants in the conference noted that the present level and dynamics of Russo-Arab relations is not sufficient.

The USSR's disintegration destroyed traditional Russo-Arab economic ties. Sources and amounts of resources in the trade and economic operation have unjustifiedly reduced. The political and economic risk has increased. An active mechanism is lacking of taking decisions on issues of foreign economic cooperation and monitoring their implementation.

Arab participants in the conference pointed out the setting up of a political and legal base in Russia would facilitate the development of economic ties. Creation of conditions which would guarantee safety of foreign investments in Russia would ensure success of both multilateral and bilateral cooperation. Conclusion of the work at adopting laws, excluding double taxation, as well as regulating a legal status of foreigners would play the positive role in the stimulation of cooperation.

Participants stressed the necessity of joining the process of forming the trade and economic policy by all interested organizations irrispective of a property form on conditions of equal rights and equal responsibility. The conference participants believe this way will speed up the settlement of problems of debt of a number of Arab states.

The work done in the course of the conference proved it necessary to make joint efforts by politicians, entrepreneurs and scientists with the view to facilitate improvement of effective cooperation between Russia and Arab states. In this conneciton next conference is planned to be held in Cairo in spring of 1994.

'Scandal' Surrounding Chechen Leader's Lebanese Visit Grows

LD2105144593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1308 GMT 21 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Dmitriy Zelenin]

[Text] Beirut May 21 TASS—The scandal around Chechen President Dzhokhar Dudayev's "private visit" to Lebanon from May 16 to 18 is mushrooming. Competent Lebanese bodies continue to clarify the circumstances of the appearance of the Chechen leader with a numerous retinue and the goal of the Chechen governmental delegation's visit.

It is an unprecedented case in the history of Lebanon and perhaps in international practice when a delegation of the unrecognised state arrives in the country without an official invitation from anyone, the newspaper AL-HAYAT writes today.

A source in the Lebanese Foreign Ministry released a statement here today saying that the hall for honourary guests at Beirut International Airport was opened for Dudayev last Sunday in violation of all official rules and without government bodies' notification. He clarified that Dudayev and the persons accompanying him "crossed Lebanon's border as private persons and none of the authorities' representatives participated in the welcoming ceremony."

Pertinent instances in the Lebanese Foreign Ministry did not receive any inquiries on this score and were not notified about Dudayev's visit. The Lebanese ambassador in Moscow did not send any information about the visit to the Lebanese Foreign Ministry. The delegation got entry visas at the airport. The statement points out that Lebanon does not recognise the Chechen Republic and does not have diplomatic relations with it.

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Groznyy May 21 by ITAR-TASS correspondent Sharip Asuyev:

It has already become a tradition that Dzhokhar Dudayev embarks on foreign trips amid tight secrecy and people in Groznyy, including high-ranking officials in the president's apparatus learn about them only after he returns home. Many continue to wonder how the head of the Chechen Republic, which is recognised by no one, flies on his personal plane to neighbouring as well as remote foreign countries. Dudayev's unexpected trip to meet Islamic fundamentalists makes one return to rumours, which began circulating in Groznyy once again, that he allegedly plans to proclaim Chechnya an Islamic republic and himself—imam. Evidently, the trip pursues a purely political goal of attracting, in the confrontation with the opposition, the fanatically religious part of the population to his side.

Yeltsin Approves Draft Friendship Treaty With Tajikistan

LD2405094893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0803 GMT 24 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow, 24 May—Boris Yeltsin has signed an order approving the draft Russian-Tajik Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance. The president's instruction specifies that the treaty will be signed at the head of state level during the working visit to Moscow of the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Tajikistan. The signing ceremony is expected to take place in the Grand Kremlin Palace on 25 May.

The draft treaty states that Russia and Tajikistan "in building their relations as friendly states, are consistently guided by the principles of mutual respect for state sovereignty and territorial integrity, peaceful settlement of disputes, and non-use of force or the threat of force, including economic and other means of pressure, and by the principles of equality and non-interference in internal affairs, respect and observance of human rights and basic freedoms, conscientious fulfillment of obligations, as well as by the other universally recognized norms of international law."

The draft stipulates that both states will cooperate "in order to strengthen peace and enhance stability and security on both a global and regional scale" and will exert efforts "to assist the settlement of regional conflicts and other situations affecting the interests of the parties."

Russia and Tajikistan will cooperate in the sphere of defense and will keep and maintain under joint command the CIS strategic military forces and will conduct "an agreed military technical policy, including the financing of military programs and orders of armaments and military equipment."

The draft contains an article whereby in the event of situations arising that, in the view of one of the parties, create "a threat to peace, disturb peace in the Eurasian region, or infringe on the essential interests of security," both parties to the treaty will "put into action a mechanism of joint consultations with the aim of coordinating their positions and taking measures to remove the emergent threat." In the event that any act of aggression is committed against either of the parties, the parties will render one another the necessary assistance, including military assistance.

The document confirms the territorial integrity and inviolability of the existing borders of Russia and Tajikistan, and stresses that "the parties will ban and suppress, in accordance with their own legislation, the creation and unlawful activity on their territory of organizations, groups, and individuals directed against the independence and territorial integrity of both states."

Russia and Tajikistan, according to the draft treaty, will pledge to coordinate actions toward implementing economic reforms, will facilitate the formation of a common economic space and pan-European and Eurasian markets, and will pursue an agreed customs policy.

The Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance between Russia and Tajikistan is expected to be concluded for a period of five years with the possibility of automatic extension if neither of the parties declares the wish to suspend it.

Chernomyrdin Cancels Kiev Trip Because of Kuchma

PM2105103793 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 21 May 93 p 1

[Igor Sukhanov report: "Postponed Meeting"]

[Text] In yesterday's issue we reported the planned visit to Kiev of Russian Federation Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin. Late in the evening of 19 May, however, when the newspaper's issue had already been made up and sent to press, a report arrived that the Russian head of government had unexpectedly decided to postpone his trip to Ukraine.

Why?

In our view, the point is that in the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet 18 May Ukrainian Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma delivered a report on the socioeconomic and political situation in Ukraine and on ways out of the crisis.

As is well known, the neighboring country's socioeconomic situation is unenviable. Ukraine is experiencing the same ills as Russia—galloping inflation, a production slump, and a deterioration of people's lives.

One hundred and ten deputies of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet registered to speak in the debate on L. Kuchma's report. Ten people spoke 18 May. Another section of parliamentarians was able to share its opinion with colleagues 19 May—the day when it had been planned to end the discussion and adopt a decision on the premier's report.

Many of the registered deputies continued to insist on speaking, however, and the republic Supreme Soviet did not adopt a decision on its premier's report 19 May.

This decision was to have been fateful, to use a popular word, both for Kuchma's cabinet and for Ukraine. Leonid Kuchma is asking the Supreme Soviet to extend the government's emergency economic powers, which expire 21 May, and is also insisting on including in the Cabinet of Ministers the chairman of the National Bank of Ukraine, the chairman of the Antimonopoly Committee, and the chairman of the State Property Fund. If the emergency powers are not extended, the resignation both of the Ukrainian premier and of his cabinet is perfectly possible.

Since such a fundamental dialogue is still going on in Kiev and the fate of the Ukrainian cabinet hangs by a thread, the Russian head of government has evidently decided not to hasten events and to postpone his visit. This is because within the framework of the visit it had been proposed to discuss questions which could have a substantial effect on the state of the economies of two countries—both Russia and Ukraine.

Ukrainian Moves on Black Sea Fleet Deplored

PM2105151193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 May 93 p 1

[Report by Aleksandr Pilipchuk: "Black Sea Fleet Is in the Grip of Problems. Comprehensive Approach Toward Their Solution Needed"]

[Text] On 18 May an event took place in the Black Sea Fleet which immediately reminded us of the days when conflicting colors would take turns flying above Sevastopol's bays—the white and blue St. Andrew's flag and the yellow and blue Ukrainian state flag. On Tuesday St. Andrew's flags were raised yet again on the ships of the 171st division of auxiliary ships of the Crimean naval base based in Dokuzlav and Sevastopol. Has the clock, despite the Yalta agreement's advances, once again been turned back to the starting points of the tragic discord between the two powers over the Black Sea Fleet?

Grounds for raising the St. Andrew's flag on auxiliary ships (Black Sea Fleet combatant and auxiliary ships are temporarily retaining the former USSR Navy's "compromise" flag) were provided by the provocative—as the division believes—raising of the Ukrainian flag on a PZhK-38 (firefighting craft) on the division's books and Captain Vladimir Musiyenko's unauthorized sailing of it from Ochakov to the island of Mayskiy. As the Black Sea Fleet press center reports, the incident occurred immediately after a group of Ukrainian Naval Forces officers headed by the commander, Vice Admiral Boris Kozhin, had finished working at the Crimean naval base and it is not a chance coincidence, there being a cause and effect connection between these events.

Unilateral actions by various groups of the Ukrainian Defense Ministry and Naval Forces to transfer command of Black Sea Fleet units, combined units, and establishments to the Ukrainian department have lately been stepped up in the fleet under dual and equal command. The attempt made 14-15 May by the Ukrainian side to transfer command of the House of Officers, commandant's office, and bath and laundry combine in Feodosiyskiy Garrison is categorized by the fleet press center as an example of this.

Information recently being received from Sevastopol, in particular about the Ukrainian side's decision to recover a sum equal to the difference in the exchange rate between the ruble and the coupon from Black Sea Fleet officers discharged into the reserves after October 1992, about cases of discrimination against Black Sea Fleet servicemen in housing provision, and about attempts to win over at least some officers to inserting references to Ukrainian citizenship in their military registration documents, testify to a spring pepping up of actions which constitute deviations from the letter and spirit of the Yalta agreement and which are anti-Russian.

At the same time it is not difficult to imagine the political key in which certain actions of the Black Sea Fleet sailors are in turn being received in Kiev. Including, for instance, the refusal of servicemen in a number of combined units and establishments to receive money their May pay, aimed at drawing the attention of the Russian Federation and Ukrainian presidents to a number of questions they view as unsolved—regarding Black Sea Fleet servicemen's status, their dual citizenship, and the application of the Russian Federation Defense Ministry order on increasing pay to the Black Sea Fleet sailors. Or the latest St. Andrew's flag incident. Of course, an anti-Ukrainian character is being ascribed to these actions. An increasing number of experts are inclined to conclude that there is only one way out of the stalemate situation—to preserve a unified fleet within an integral system of military-political relations between the two states.

Such an approach to the problem, which impinges on the common interests of the Russian Federation and Ukraine, was outlined in detail the other day in a conversation between journalists and Vice Admiral Eduard Baltin, Black Sea Fleet commander, the content of which was circulated by the Black Sea Fleet press center. Speaking about the Black Sea Fleet's political and geostrategic importance to Russian and UKrainian interests, he noted that the fleet is currently an element in the balance of forces in this region and part of the military deterrent system. In his opinion, the Black Sea Fleet's current level of combat training and combat readiness enable it to take a commanding position in the Black Sea theater. Many experts, Baltin said, were quick to declare the Turkish Naval Forces superior to the Black Sea Fleet. It would take this Black Sea state 5 to 10 years to become superior to the Black Sea Fleet, if it is preserved in its present form and not carved up. Vice Adm. Baltin noted that the Americans have assigned ocean patrol aircraft like the "Orion" to monitor shipping in the Danube. For the same purposes the NATO countries are assigning patrol craft based in Burgas and Constanta to the Black Sea. If you add to these facts the record number of North Atlantic bloc ships that sailed to the Black Sea at the end of last year, the admiral stressed, it will become clear that what is going on is the approval of NATO countries' naval presence in this region on a permanent basis, the first stage of which is being carried out in the guise of peacekeeping activity and on the basis of a mandate from international organizations.

Sensible politicians and military personnel have cited such arguments before. However, practice shows that, while a court is deciding the issue, people on the banks of the Dnieper are trying to hastily pilfer the fleet forces and siphon off cadres, creating a social vacuum around the Black Sea Fleet sailors to do this.

Khasbulatov Appeals to Azeri Leaders Over Russian POWs

LD2105131493 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 21 May 93

[Text] Ruslan Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet, has sent a letter to Isa Gambarov, chairman of the Azerbaijan National Assembly, appealing to him to show clemency to the former Russian servicement sentenced in Baku. Having stressed that they were in the Trans-Caucasus through no fault of their own, and had been criminally dragged into the fratricidal conflict, the speaker of the Russian Parliament asked Isa Gambarov to become personally involved in the fate of the sentenced servicemen. No punishment, even the most just and strict, the letter stresses, can justify the great misfortune which could happen as a result of possible difficulties in our people's bilateral relations.

Grachev Addresses News Conference on Lithuania Withdrawal

LD2205194493 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 22 May 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Lithuanian officials have leveled new accusations against Moscow. Romualdas Ozolas, a member of parliament, declared today that Russia is trying to alter the accords reached earlier on the terms of the withdrawal of its troops from the republic. The military in Moscow deny this: they say that the opposite is the case: that mutual understanding and progress were actually achieved on many problems recently, during Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev's visit to Vilnius.

[Correspondent Vadim Solovyev] Lithuania is to receive or be able to purchase at world prices some Russian weapons, all of which Russia is permitted to sell under international agreements. Russia is prepared to train Lithuanian officers at the Ryazan paratroop school and the Leningrad naval college. In return, Lithuania will take a number of measures to provide social protection for retired servicemen living on its territory and will consider certain privileges for firms and organizations building housing in the Kaliningrad region - and possibly deep inside Russia as well, in the future - for the Russian troops being withdrawn.

[Grachev] During the visit, we discussed 18 issues dealing purely with the military sphere. We did not consider political issues - those which need to be settled for our presidents to sign a basic agreement on the status, presence, and withdrawal of Russian troops from Lithuanian territory.

[Solovyev] The Russian and Lithuanian military do not think there are any unresolved issues concerning the withdrawal, as long as you ignore compensation for property which the Russian army is leaving behind following the withdrawal. This property comprises military camps, barracks, depots and many other sites. Some interesting solutions have been found. For instance, repair works for armored vehicles and helicopters will in future be used jointly by the two defense ministries.

Moscow-Vilnius Talks Stall Over Damages Issue

MK2205125493 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 May 93 p 3

[Tamara Nikolayeva report: "The Military Has Agreed, Politicians Have Not. Troop Withdrawal Taking its Normal Course"]

[Excerpts] Well, one could say that Russian Federation Defense Minister Pavel Grachev left triumphantly after a two-day visit to Lithuania whereas Viktor Isakov, head of Russia's state delegation for talks with Lithuania, declined to hold the usual press conference before parting. The military demonstrated a good capacity for reaching compromise, which is, unfortunately not the case with the politicians. [passage omitted]

The delegations had not met even once since last October despite the fact that, according to Viktor Isakov, head of the Russian delegation, Russia had repeatedly offered to resume the talks. The Lithuanian side agrees that the talks have really dragged out, but takes no blame for that: the long interruption in the negotiating process was caused by internal political developments—a change of administrations, the formation of a new state delegation for talks with Russia. "The new authorities needed to digest all the problems," said Seimas Chairman Cheslovas Yurshenas, "but the time was not wasted, the issues came into sharper focus." The state delegations' present meetings, however, hardly backs the words of the Lithuanian speaker, because the talks were designed to mark an important step in the final stage of the troop withdrawal, to reach a compromise—but in fact they were hampered by the same thing as last year. Lithuania once again raised the question of compensation for damages. The Russian side declared that they were not empowered by the country's leaders to discuss the issue.

The Lithuanian side insists that as the 1940 events have been assessed as the forcible incorporation of Lithuania into the USSR resulting from aggression and annexation, Russia, which has proclaimed itself the successor to the former Union, is obliged under all international rules to bear responsibility for the damage done during the years of occupation, that is, between 1940 and 1990. The damage has been assessed at $150 billion. The Russian side suggests that "inappropriate formulas" in the political treaty be dropped on the plea that, according to Vladimir Isakov, "young democratic Russia is not responsible for the USSR's actions in 1940," in other words, as head of the Lithuanian delegation Virgilius Bulovas stressed, the Russian side insists on the "zero option." But in Lithuania they think that, unlike people, states have no right to forget the past and turn over a new leaf. [passage omitted]

Spokesman Says Russia Supports UN Stance on Cambodia

LD2105135393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1331 GMT 21 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Sergey Staroselskiy and Vladimir Suprun]

[Text] Moscow May 21 TASS—"The Russian side shares the view of the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) that the pre-election process in the country has created acceptable conditions for holding free elections to the Constitutional Assembly, fixed for May 23-28," chief of the Russian Foreign Ministry's Information and Press Department Sergey Yastrzhembskiy told a briefing here today.

"In light of this," he stated, "I want to stress that no side has the right to block the elections, for which almost five million Cambodians have opted in the course of the registration process. Such irresponsible and criminal actions would outlaw the offenders both within Cambodia and on the international scene."

"Thanks to the efforts exerted by the international community, the Cambodian peaceful settlement is now approaching its culmination," Yastrzhembskiy noted. "A long and difficult road has been traversed before the Paris Accords could be implemented. The freely expressed will of the Cambodian people shall pave the way to the materialisation of this unique chance to restore peace and revive the country, tormented by many years of war."

"Russia is ready to further contribute to this process," Yastrzhembskiy stressed.

Japanese Approach to Nuclear Dumping Problem 'Constructive'

PM2105160193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 May 93 First Edition p3

[Report by correspondent Sergey Agafonov: "Experts Discuss the Problem of Nuclear Dumping in the Sea of Japan"]

[Text] Tokyo—A Russian-Japanese working group is starting work in Moscow: It will discuss the problem of nuclear waste, which, it seems, is buried on the sea bed along the perimeter of our borders, including in the Sea of Japan.

There are already plenty of delicate subjects complicating the bilateral dialogue between Moscow and Tokyo. A couple of months ago, these difficult subjects were joined by another, when the facts about nuclear waste being buried deep at sea became public.

Although in all these decades there has thankfully never been a catastrophe and the background radiation in the seas adjacent to Japan remains normal, the sense of a potential threat from the Russian nuclear waste concealed in the depths has taken a firm place in commentaries by the Japanese mass media and in statements by officials of various ranks. The Japanese succeeded in raising the problem of nuclear dumps at sea and Russian nuclear waste in general for discussion at the recent meeting of G-7 ministers in Tokyo; a passage expressing concern in this connection and urging Russia to stop dumping spent reactors and other nuclear components in the seas and oceans was included in the final document of the G-7 meeting in Tokyo; during bilateral talks with the Russian delegation led by Andrey Kozyrev, the Japanese insisted on a detailed discussion of this problem, and the decision to form a new working group to hold in-depth consultations was made there and then.

There is no point accusing Tokyo of artificially creating new problems: The subject must be recognized as important, and our neighbors not only have a right to be concerned in this connection, but also to know the details of what is going on close to their borders. Moreover, it must be said that the Japanese are taking a constructive approach in this specific matter: They are not simply criticizing Russia for its secret dumps, but are proposing to jointly look at options for resolving the situation. Tokyo has repeatedly said at official level that the Japanese side is prepared to help with technology and even with finance to end the practice of nuclear dumping at sea and restrict "burials" on dry land.

According to our information, several initiatives will be put forward in this connection at the working group session, especially as the problem of the initial financing of Japanese aid in this direction has been virtually resolved. In the aid package earmarked for Russia, announced by Japan at the G-7 meeting in Tokyo, $100 million have been set aside to assist in the task of utilizing nuclear waste.

This, in principle, would have been the end of the matter, if it were not for an article in ASAHI, which appeared to be timed to coincide with the working group session. Citing information recently published in Moscow, the Japanese newspaper says that, in addition to nuclear waste, Russia—or, to be more precise, the Soviet Union—also dumped toxic gas, including large quantities of mustard gas (more than 30,000 tonnes), in the Sea of Japan at the end of World War II. According to the newspaper, the metal containers of poisonous mustard gas are breaking up at a phenomenal rate: Corrosion eats away 0.2 mm of metal per year. Admittedly, it does not give any indication of the remaining "safety margin" or of when the buried gas will burst from the rotten containers, but this, you must agree, is very poor consolation.

Industrialists Hope To Restore Trade Links With East Europe

MK2205095693 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 21 May 93 p 9

[Marat Salimov report: "Arkadiy Volskiy on Industrialists' Contacts. Industrialists May Reestablish Council for Mutual Economic Assistance"]

[Text] **The Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs is hoping that cooperative links between enterprises of former Council for Mutual Economic Assistance member countries will be reestablished. This was stated by the Union's chairman Arkadiy Volskiy at a news briefing in Moscow yesterday. In his opinion, a concrete decision could be made to set up multinational companies during the next regular session of the Council of the International Congress of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs.**

The International Congress of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs was founded in February 1992. It is comprised of national associations of industrialists and entrepreneurs from all the republics of the former USSR, and from the former socialist countries of East Europe.

In the course of a regular session of the Council of the International Congress of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs to be held on 24 to 25 May in the city of Csopak (Hungary), representatives of national unions are planning to discuss questions relating to industrial policy and investment activities in East European countries, the stabilization of these countries' socioeconomic development, and the Congress' participation in the activities of the International Center for Finance and Trade With the East. This center is being created on the initiative of the Polish Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs in the form of a special investment fund. The fund's top priority task will be the financing of enterprises in former Council for Mutual Economic Assistance member countries that are experiencing financial difficulties as a result of severed cooperation and trade links with Russia and the other republics of the former USSR. Its other functions will consist in the reestablishment of horizontally arranged links between enterprises of former Council for Mutual Economic Assistance member countries (including enterprises located in Germany's eastern provinces). In the opinion of Arkadiy Volskiy, it would be impossible to stop the continuing production slump and falling living standards of the population in these countries without bringing together the industrialists from the countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and East Europe for the purpose of reestablishing horizontally arranged links and for the creation of multinational companies.

Constitution Issues

Shakhray Views Deputies' Role in Drafting Constitution

LD2205224193 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 2000 GMT 22 May 93

[Text] A news conference was held in Moscow on 22 May by Sergey Shakhray, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, on the results of his trip to the Far East and Siberia. Here is a recording of a report from our correspondent Valeriy Sanfirov:

[Sanfirov] Besides the deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, two advisers to the Russian president, Emil Pay and Sergey Stankevich, also took part in the trip. According to the latter, the general impression from the meetings with representatives of regions of the Far East and Siberia can be assessed as moderately optimistic.

Judge for yourself: there were no regions that did not support the presidential draft constitution or which refused to take part in the work of the constitutional conference. It should be taken into account here that it was not only the representatives of the president in the localities who took part in the meetings but also chairmen of the oblast soviets. According to Sergey Stankevich, the leadership of Russia should go on trips to the regions as often as possible. Then there will be no reports about the supposed separatism of the Far East and Siberia and their striving to leave Russia, nor reports of Altay and Kabardino-Balkaria blocking the presidential draft constitution.

It emerged during the visit and the meetings with representatives of these subjects of the Russian Federation that they support the presidential draft, and would like to eliminate all their critical comments in the course of mutual consultations. Nonetheless, the main issue during the visit was how the constitution should be adopted.

Here is what Sergey Shakhray, one of the authors of the draft who began his work, as you know, on 5 July, had to say about the work of the constitutional conference:

[Begin Shakhray recording] The idea of a constitutional conference in the form in which it was eventually embodied in the report of the president of the Russian Federation is that there should be five chambers: the chamber of subjects of the Russian Federation, which will make it possible to agree on the regional and federative aspects of the future constitution; the chamber of federal bodies of state power, drawn from representatives of the executive and legislative power with the participation of the Constitutional Commission, and representatives of the okrugs at the level of experts; the third chamber would be the chamber of public organizations, namely political parties, trade unions, religious denominations; there would be a fourth chamber, reflecting the interests of local self-government, namely unions, and city and territorial associations; and the last chamber would be the chamber of commodity producers and entrepreneurs.

This approach to the constitutional conference amounts to an attempt to create a new constitution for the Russian Federation as a product of a kind of social contract; a constitution that would be a document of national harmony.

The mode of adoption of a constitution by referendum, by inaugural assembly, or by the congress is not being imposed on the regions. In other words, the Congress of People's Deputies was not, and is not, excluded from the possible procedure for adopting a new Russian constitution. But all the documents signed in those regions of the North-West to the Far East state that the congress no longer has an exclusive right to adopt a constitution.

The work of the constitutional conference will not be endless. The president has set a very strict timescale. Essentially, the time allowed for the work of the conference is 18 days. After that will come the initialling of the text and its obligatory publication.

Since people's deputies will be very widely representated at the constitutional conference and in the constitutional commissions, it will be clear whether there is a chance of the constitution being approved at the congress - I say "approved" advisely. Evidently no political force - neither the president nor the subjects of the Russian Federation - will give the congress the right arbitrarily, still less spontaneously in the course of the congress, to introduce amendments. Or, if that degree of agreement is not reached, then options for an inaugurative assembly or referendum will be worked out. [end recording]

Shakhray Says President's Draft Supported by Regions

LD2205190693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1844 GMT 22 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yegor Gvritishvili]

[Text] Moscow May 22 TASS—"The idea of the adoption of a new Russian Constitution is being universally supported as an important instrument of overcoming dual power and a step towards the creation of new institutions in Russia and the implementation of the economic reform," Deputy Prime Minister Sergey Shakhray said today. He spoke at a press conference dealing with the results of his recent trips to the north-western region, the Ryazan region, western and eastern Siberia and the Far East.

According to Shakhray, all the regions that he visited supported, on the whole, the president's draft constitution, although they made some observations and recommendations and demanded that it should be combined with the draft constitution prepared by the Constitutional Commission, in order to prevent the appearance of two constitutions.

He described as central the problem of equal rights for members of the Russian Federation, which is to be recorded in the Constitution, as well as the evening up of the status of territories and region and making it equal to that of the republics, integrated in the Russian Federation.

Touching upon the procedure of the adoption of the new constitution, Shakhray said that all the regions had supported the idea of a constitutional assembly or conference, where all branches of authority, political and public organisations would be represented. "It will be an attempt to conclude a social treaty, so that the new constitution will become a document of national accord," he said.

Touching upon the advantages of the president's draft constitution over others, Shakhray stressed: "This draft constitution gives an idea of what we intend to build. It will be a state with socially-oriented market economy, federal by its makeup, and a presidential republic by its form, but with a strong parliament, with a democratic political regime based on the division of authority, people's power and human rights."

Shakhray Sells Constitution in Far East

PM2105153393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 May 93 First Edition p 3

[Sergey Ponomarev report: "Instruction: How to Slay the 'Dragon of Parliamentarism']

[Text] Khabarovsk—The meeting in Khabarovsk between executive leaders of the Far East territories and Sergey Shakhray, vice premier of the government, somewhat pretentiously called by its organizers the "regional conference on conceptual approaches to the adoption of the new Constitution," was predictably not marked by a particular diversity of concepts. The discussion centered on just one draft—the president's—which, on the highest orders, had been renamed the day before as the "alternative." But on the other hand, within the bounds of this "narrow path which was necessary for the peaceful continuation of the reforms," (Shakhray's words), the participants in the conference could wander freely, choosing historical and literary analogies which varied from the apt to the not quite apt.

The vice premier himself, characterizing the present body of deputies as "elected in a different state—the RSFSR—and, it would seem, in a different era," did not fail to mention the French "Fifth Republic" which replaced the Fourth Republic there. Admittedly he then explained the character of his own brainchild: "This is not the U.S., the French, or the German model. This is a model in which the experience of the Russian state is revived."

The natural question is: Which state precisely? "Yes, this is the draft of a monarchical constitution," Shakhray explained, without the least embarrassment, "but the monarch in this case is the people. There has never been such an embodiment of the principle of the people's sovereignty in any constitution before..." Indeed, there has not! However, let us leave aside the self-assessments of one of the authors of the proposed draft as well as what he sees as the merits of a document produced from deep within the president's entourage. Far more interesting are the aims of the present constitutional race outlined at the Khabarovsk conference. According to the vice premier's interpretation these aims include the "elimination of dyarchy or, more accurately, anarchy, whereby in addition to the two-headed legislative power in the form of the Congress and the Supreme Soviet there is the equally two-headed executive branch in the form of the President and the collegial government." But the judiciary in our country, in Sergey Mikhaylovich's opinion, is three-headed now..."

What is the upshot of all this? "The president must be removed from all the branches, then he will be head of state and arbiter in the disputes that arise between the parliament and government as well as between the components of the Federation and the federal authorities," the architect of the hitherto unseen structure asserted.

"The constitutional conference opening in Moscow 5 June will work for at least 15 days, but it does not have the purpose of adopting the new Constitution," A. Kotenkov, chief of the president's State and Law Administration, assured the audience. "It is to prepare an agreed text of the document, a kind of 'Social Treaty'"

An interesting view, of course. If one is to believe the deputy commander for political affairs from the Jewish Autonomous Oblast, who rose two military ranks at once in the president's legal service, the structure of this organ which is not envisaged by the law will consist of five chambers uniting the components of the Federation; the federal organs of power; representatives of political parties, social movements, and religious faiths; delegates from local self-government; and finally production workers and entrepreneurs. Each chamber would have approximately 150 members, so in total there would be 750 "constitutionalists"...

But in that case how does the "Conference" differ from the Congress of People's Deputies, which the president's team tirelessly criticizes as "unmanageable" and "incompetent"? And how is it proposed to carry out the selection, for example, to the "chamber of the parties" or the "chamber of directors"? Might it not be according to the principle of "loyalty" to the president and his policy...?

Finally we come to the main question. Let us suppose that it has taken great effort but the text has been agreed on, so now it must be adopted. Who is going to do that? Judging by the answers of the visitors from the capital, they do not in fact want to entrust this important duty to the Congress or even a referendum but instead speak about a "multiple option" solution, which will take until mid-June. Their local radical supporters seem far more candid, openly proposing to "use the constitutional assembly to proclaim the abolition of the old state's fundamental law and the convocation of a Constituent Assembly, and in the transitional period to live on the basis of presidential edicts and government decrees."

Meanwhile Shakhray does not rule out the use of "legislative acts on temporary organs of administration for the transitional period" if it proves impossible to achieve accord between the president and the people's deputies. An accord, naturally, on the basis of the president's draft Constitution...

Another remarkable factor came to light, incidentally. When speaking about "support from the regions for the president's draft Constitution" at similar briefings in Murmansk, Ryazan, and now Khabarovsk, the supporters of the draft are, to put it mildly, trying to pull a fast one. Indeed the issue is primarily about the executive power. In the representative power, however, the position is by no means as clear-cut as it appears at the present sessions of the kray and oblast soviets in the Far East.

Rumyantsev Comments on Presidential Draft

LD2105215193 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1445 GMT 21 May 93

[Interview with Oleg Rumyantsev, Constitutional Commission chairman, by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given; from the "Parliamentary Hour" program—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Correspondent] [passage omitted] What is the difference between the presidential and parliamentary drafts of the constitution? Why have the two sides taken such irreconcilable positions?

[Rumyantsev] In replying to your question, I would like to single out three different themes. The first theme is the political significance of one or the other draft for the future of reforms in the Russian Federation. The second concerns the consequences of adopting one or the other draft, the legal and political consequences for the Russian Federation. The third theme is the question of which parts of the new presidential draft are inadmissible for democracy in Russia.

Speaking on the first point—that is, on what the emergence of the new presidential draft means today—I can say one thing: the last link between popular representation—the congress—and the president, manifested by the official draft of the constitution, has been destroyed. [passage omitted]

The political significance of the new presidential draft is that it is primarily a very partial draft. It took a long time to agree on our draft, the official draft prepared by the Constitutional Commission, with various parties. [passage omitted] This draft, which is quite partial, has not been agreed with anyone. It is impossible to agree in two weeks what it took us several years to achieve. [passage omitted]

The media are currently doing everything they can to make the people jump up and start rushing around enthusiastically whenever the words presidential draft are heard, and to shout "Long live the presidential draft," even though they don't even give a thought to what the draft is all about. Here I would like to move on to my second point: what is inadmissible about the draft.

I have mentioned at the sittings of the Constitutional Commission that some points in the presidential draft can be taken into consideration, and indeed should be, but on the whole it must not be accepted as a basis. Why is that? Well, for example, the list of human and civil rights and freedoms is much narrower there than in our official draft, and even than in the Constitution now in force. [passage omitted] Further, the division of powers. Liberals of all denominations are fiercely defending the principle of division of powers. In that draft, however, the president has been placed outside the entire system of three powers. He is the head of state, he is the head of the executive power, he is a lawmaker because the decrees adopted by him are equivalent to laws—and this could mean destruction of the legal system. He is a judge since he can independently suspend the action of laws if he decides that they do not conform with the Constitution and citizens' rights and freedoms. He is the state referee in disputes between the federation and the subjects of the federation. He is also a referee on the regional level since he can interfere in disputes between power branches within the federation subjects—in republics, krays, and oblasts. In fact, things suggested in this draft are unknown in constitutional democratic practice throughout the world. [passage omitted]

Another characteristic of that draft is that it considerably plays down the status of krays and oblasts, and this seems to me to be quite inadmissible since the subjects of the federation should all have equal rights, in that they are all responsible for maintaining the federation's unity. [passage omitted]

Dismissing the president from his post is practically made impossible in the presidential draft. He can be dismissed by decision of the two chambers and on the strength of a decision of the Supreme Court, but the Supreme Court is formed largely by the president himself. Thus, the only thing missing from the draft presented by Shakhray and Alekseyev is a procedure for appointing the heir to the throne—in all other aspects the draft clearly fits the authoritarian, autocratic system.

Now, on the third aspect—the legal and political consequences. The consequences are that every democratic revolution, as I have already mentioned, devours itself at some stage, and apparently this self-devouring stage has begun for the present democratic revolution, and an authoritarian rule is being created. [passage omitted]

How can this be avoided? It can be avoided if the constitutional conference which is being crammed into our heads today is assembled under three conditions. The first is that it should be truly representative—not just formed by the president but also representing the regions, the Constitutional Commission, and the parliament. The second is that it should have a consultative character and should not proclaim itself a constitutional assembly, because if it adopts this constitution, half the society will refuse to live in accordance with it and there will be civic discord in the country. The third condition is that it should give clear recommendations to the congress. The Supreme Soviet has decided that the congress is to convene on 17 November in order to adopt a new constitution, and I think it will be the official draft, the old presidential draft rather than the new presidential draft. [passage omitted]

Perhaps today's program, which has given me a chance—for the first time—to speak freely, without intermediaries, will help our citizens to realize what a serious problem constitutional diarchy presents.

West Siberian Region Backs Yeltsin's Draft Constitution

LD2105180293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1554 GMT 21 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Viktor Yelmakov]

[Text] Novosibirsk May 21 TASS—A conference of heads of the representative and executive branches of Russia's West-Siberian region was capped in Novosibirsk today by the signing of a statement in which the presidential draft of the constitution was basically supported.

The statement points out that "a full-bloodied democratic constitution and it alone can guarantee the integrity of the Russian state, the establishment of truly federative relations between the regions and the centre and protection of the democratic principles."

Participants in the conference called for bringing closer the two officially presented drafts and working out a single integrated document. Anatoliy Sychev, chairman of the Novosibirsk Regional Council of People's Deputies, was the only one who made several reservations during the signing of the statement. Proceeding from decisions by the Regional Council's session, he does not regard as possible to consider any of the presented drafts of the constitution as basic documents.

Russian Deputy Prime Minister Sergey Shakhray described the discussion as very useful. He pointed out that the final document is very rich in its content, it does not only records support but also sets out detailed proposals on the draft constitution.

Regarding the problem of choosing the procedure for adopting the fundamental law, Shakhray said an answer to this question is likely to be given by the end of the Constitutional Assembly which is convened by President Yeltsin.

North Caucasus Leaders Urged To Pool Efforts on Constitution

PM2105155093 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 May 93 First Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "Conference: Appeal to Common Sense"]

[Text] A conference of leaders of two branches of power—the representative and the executive—of the North Caucasus region of the Russian Federation has been held in Stavropol. The regions in question are: Stavropol Kray, Krasnodar Kray, Rostov Oblast, the Kabardino-Balkar Republic, the Republic of Dagestan, the Republic of Adygea, the Karachay-Cherkessian Republic, and the Ingush Republic.

As a result a statement was adopted which condemns the attempts to make the work on the new Constitution the "focal point [ostriye] of political struggle." The authors of the statement believe that the Constitutional Commission, the Supreme Soviet, and the president's draft constitution working group should pool their efforts and elaborate a single Basic Law.

The new Constitution should be adopted this year and exclusively by constitutional means, it is asserted.

The statement is signed by V. Lednev, deputy chairman of the Cabinet of Ministers and government of the Republic of Adygea; M. Khallitov, chairman of the standing Commission on Legislation and Law and Order of the Republic of Dagestan Supreme Soviet; V. Kokov, president of the Kabardino-Balkar Republic; V. Savelyev, chairman of the Karachay-Cherkessian Republic Supreme Soviet, and V. Khubiyev, chairman of the Council of Ministers; V. Gladskoy, acting head of the administration of Krasnodar Kray; M. Gaychuk, deputy chairman of the Rostov Oblast Soviet, and V. Chub, head of the administration; Yu. Goncharenko, chairman of the Stavropol Kray Soviet, and Ye. Kuznetsov, head of the administration; and M. Keligov, member of the president's council of the Ingush Republic.

Tatarstan President on Review of Constitution

LD2105195193 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 21 May 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] An entire working week was not enough for the Tatarstan parliament to discuss the draft Russian constitutions. The session has been adjourned until Monday. Deputies have left for the weekend. Deputies intend to begin the next parliamentary week by examining the draft constitutions. [video cuts to show Tatarstan President Mintimer Shaymiyev speaking to camera]

[Shaymiyev] I consider that whatever positions may be held by various movements and parties and by the deputies individually, Tatarstan, which is establishing its statehood in a civilized manner, cannot remain on one side at the very moment when it must clarify its relations with the Russian Federation. On the contrary, I consider that we must act actively, and this is what has led to my participation in the working commission on formulating the draft Russian constitutions, and opportunities of this kind must always be taken.

North Ossetian Parliament Speaker on Russian Constitution

MK2205124493 Moscow FEDERATSIYA in Russian 22 May 93 (signed to press 21 May) p 1

[Article by Akhsarbek Galazov, chairman of the North Ossetian Supreme Soviet: "Akhsarbek Galazov: The Country Needs One Draft Constitution"]

[Text] Russia continues to discuss two drafts of the fundamental law—the division between the branches of government has reached a point where each side has proposed its own concept of the state structure. How is this situation assessed by Federation components? Akhsarbek Galazov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of North Ossetia, addressed the Eighth Congress of People's Deputies on behalf of the republics incorporated into Russia. Today he shares his considerations about the essence of the debates surrounding the constitution.

[Galazov] If several draft constitutions were discussed under normal conditions, there would be nothing terrible about that. This is a normal process. But the fact is that standing behind each draft constitution there are different forces—on one hand, supporters of the executive branch; and on the other, supporters of the representative branch. The threat is posed not by the drafts themselves but by the confrontation that has emerged between the two branches of government.

True, both the draft constitution known as the president's (in fact this is a draft by Alekseyev-Shakhray) and the draft of the constitutional commission, or the Rumyantsev draft, insufficiently reflect the Federation Treaty. In the Rumyantsev draft it has been dissolved in the general concept, with many of its provisions simply excluded. As for the Alekseyev-Shakhray version, the Federation Treaty is present there merely as an appendix. Yet the Federation Treaty is a great achievement of the Russian Federation. If we had not signed it at a certain time, today the socio-political situation in Russia would have been much more complicated.

The Federation Treaty signed by the leaders of all the republics, krays, and oblasts incorporated into Russia, by the president of the Russian Federation, the chairman of the Supreme Soviet, and the chairman of the Constitutional Court should be the foundation on which the Russian Constitution ought to be built. Its main value consists in that it preserves the territorial integrity of the state and at the same time grants freedom and powers to its components.

My opinion is that dialogue should be promoted, attempts made to seek concord among the legislative, the executive, and the judicial branches, since there is only one government—the different branches are fed from one root. This accord could be reached at a constitutional conference, at the Constitutional Commission, or in working groups. It is my opinion, however, that no matter what they are called, the following task should be put before them: on the basis of both drafts, make up one draft constitution of the Russian Federation, submit it to a nationwide discussion, and adopt it in accordance with the procedures established by the current Constitution.

At the Eighth Congress I was entrusted to make a statement on behalf of the republics that are part of Russia. The gist of the statement, it will be recalled, was that first, a moratorium should be imposed in 1993-1994 on major political actions, including referendums, and efforts taken to work out a mechanism for the implementation of the Federation Treaty. Second, we proposed that all the authorities, beginning with the federal center in Moscow and ending with the rural soviets, take charge of economic reform. I still think that had our statement been heeded, there would not have been the confrontation between the branches, no disputes over the draft constitutions....

At present, however, only the Federation Treaty could become the foundation of the constitution—there is no other basis. It is on this basis that a compromise should be built. This is why a constitution is adopted after all—to consolidate the state. We, on the contrary, have used such powerful weapons as drafts of the fundamental law in this confrontation.

I regard the republics, krays, and oblasts as the main instruments in the search for accord. As for the republic leaders, most of them agree: We must produce one draft and are ready to take the most active part in this process. We have also assigned legal experts from our republic and had them approved at the presidium to participate in the working group that would finalize the draft constitution. On 28 May a session of the North Ossetian Supreme Soviet is to be held where we will discuss the two drafts of the fundamental law, make our remarks, and elect two representatives, in line with the existing regulations, to the constitutional conference.

Yet I think that neither the constitutional conference, nor the constituent assembly, nor any other body may adopt the Constitution. They may only pass their judgment on a draft.

There has been much controversy over what kind of republic Russia should be—presidential or parliamentary. Since we have already introduced the post of president, we should consider it to be presidential. At the same time, in my opinion, the president must not be simultaneously head of the executive branch and of the state. He should be only head of state, the main guarantor of the observance of the Constitution, and the consolidating link that ensures collaboration of the branches of government.

Republican Party Notes Flaws in Draft Constitutions

PM2405094593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 21 May 93 p 2

[Marsel Sagitov report: "Russia Needs Breathing Space, Republican Party Leaders Believe"]

[Text] V. Shostakovskiy, chairman of the Republican Party's Political Council, has declared that Russia is living through difficult times, and the political scrum over the drafts of the constitution does not make it possible to focus attention on the urgent questions of the day—land and private ownership. "Bitter though it may be to acknowledge this," the executive is putting the brakes on radical democratic transformations for the sake of its own political ambitions. Now, on the threshold of adopting the Fundamental Law, it is more essential than ever to consolidate Russia's progressive forces, the leadership of the RPRF [Republican Party of the Russian Federation] believes. Two powers actually exist already. The prospect is for two constitutions. This will lead to chaos and the destruction of legality, which has barely taken shape. If we speak directly of the proposed drafts, the RPRF Political Council believes that neither parliament's draft nor the president's can be taken as a basis: Both documents are flawed. Adding to what his colleague said, I. Yakovenko, the party's cochairman, said that in certain political circles the new constitution acts as a gambling chip [razmennaya karta dlya igry]—which is far from being in line with its purpose of protecting the interests of Russia's peoples. Both drafts bear the stamp of the situation at this moment and of personal partialities, and so attempts to "push through" one draft or the other at any cost will be ruinous. The first draft, drawn up by the Supreme Soviet, is full of good wishes in the spirit of socialist ideology, which are out of place in the Fundamental Law, and it attempts to regulate literally everything, including citizens' private lives—which makes it impossible to use the constitution as a direct-acting law. The president's draft suffers from no less grave flaws. It enshrines the inequality of rights of Russia's indigenous peoples: In it the rights of the subjects of the federation are seriously encroached upon—which creates centrifugal trends. It violates the principle of the separation of powers by concentrating unlimited power in the president's hands: In this draft both the legislature and the judicial power are not autonomous but are dependent on the president.

The chief problem in the way of the constitutional process is the illegitimacy of adopting either draft. From a formal viewpoint it is possible that the Supreme Soviet's version unanimously approved by the Congress of People's Deputies will be adopted. But account must be taken of the fact that the people have expressed their will, and an attempt to adopt the law in circumvention of the president's command will be illegitimate, for the constitution has to be realized after being adopted. On the other hand, S. Shakhray's statement about the president's being endowed with constituent power after the nationwide vote is surprising. This is wrong: Such a question was not raised in the referendum.

Yakovenko believes that the constitution's adoption will not resolve the problem of the system crisis: the political, economic, and social crisis. The constitutional process can still continue for an infinitely long time. A socioeconomic analysis shows that Russia has passed the turning point. Therefore the RPRF proposes its own version. First it is necessary to adopt a new democratic law on elections and reelect all the deputies' subdivisions. Then a constitutional law for the transitional period with a clear-cut definition of the implementation mechanism. This would make it possible to avoid a useless fuss and interplay of forces and to draw up a new constitution calmly and with fresh strength not for the duration of rule by a particular political elite but for centuries to come.

A niche has now been formed between Civic Union and the democratic forces. The RPRF is trying to fill this space by creating a bloc of the right center which "does not suffer from political extremism."

Officials Offer Opinions on Yeltsin's Draft Constitution

LD2205152693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1514 GMT 22 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow May 22 TASS—The president's draft constitution, the discussion of which remains in the focus of attention, is being assessed in various ways.

For instance, Deputy Prime Minister of the Moscow Government Aleksandr Braginskiy told ITAR-TASS that the president's draft constitution boosted the constitutional process. On the basis of numerous conferences held by politicians and specialists in political sciences at the mayor's office, Braginskiy came to the following conclusion: "Along with approving the president's draft constitution in general, participants in the discussions spoke in favour of equal rights of all regions and republics integrated in the federation, as well as a balanced system of the division of authority."

Unlike activists of democratic organisations which support the president's initiative on adopting the new fundamental law as soon as possible, many politicians urge not to show unnecessary haste. This opinion was expressed at a press conference by Anatoliy Nacharov, first deputy chairman of the Chelyabinsk regional council. He said he was puzzled over the fact that "the executive authorities took up law-making".

Both the head of the Chelyabinsk regional council and members of the organising committee of Entrepreneurs

30

for New Russia Association, based in Moscow, believe that it is quite possible to live according to the existing constitution. The organising committee issued a statement in which business people support the adoption of a new electoral law as soon as possible and reject both draft constitutions because, in their opinion, "they have serious defects". Their slogan is "first capitalism, then constitution".

Nevertheless, business people quickly responded to the president's decree on the convocation of the constitutional assembly on June 5. Along with opposing the need for a new constitution, they at the same time expressed readiness to take part in the work of the constitutional assembly. They want it to be only a "coordinating" body without the authority to adopt a new fundamental law.

Trade Union Chairman on Yeltsin's Draft Constitution

LD2205111493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0105 GMT 22 May 93

[Text] Moscow, 22 May (ITAR-TASS)—The advantage of the president's draft constitution is that it is shorter than the Constitutional Committee's draft and is not ideologized. This view of the draft basic law has been expressed by Igor Klochkov, chairman of Russia's Federation of Independent Trade Unions [FITU], in an item produced from a phone-in between him and readers of the newspaper TRUD, published by the paper today.

However, the trade union leader thinks, too little attention is paid to labor relations in the draft submitted by the president, and nothing is said about the trade unions, which represent the interests of working people, or about the social partnership. The FITU cannot agree with this. Igor Klochkov thinks that the right to work, education, health care, and protection against unemployment must be enshrined in the new constitution.

The Federation opposes "reducing the right of legislative initiative by public organizations, including the trade unions, which represent the broadest strata of the population." Recalling that 53 percent of those who voted in the April referendum supported economic reform, Igor Klochkov pointed out that it is not the trade unions' task to change the political system.

Article Examines Constitutional Process

PM2105153793 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 May 93 p 1

[Vladimir Yermolin report: "Constitutional Process Under Way. And There Is Hope It Will Not Be Sidelined"]

[Text] The visible, emotional aspect of the constitutional process is undoubtedly making a strong impression on outside observers (incidentally, the referendum alone could make all of us who are not involved in big-time politics coparticipants in this process to a certain extent). An intensive exchange of statements is under way between the designers of these two opposing drafts of the fundamental law.

Fortunately, both draft constitutions have been published in the press. Admittedly, it is hard to imagine that people will voluntarily start studying the new draft constitutions en masse, given the general aversion of our people to prime sources—something that has been instilled in them over the years. It is far easier to rely on the same old analysts, who latch on to a more or less distinctive quotation and argue their case.

It is no secret that many of us make our choice not on the basis of the content of the draft constitution, but on the basis of the name behind it. After all, for all the formal closeness of the formulas involved, we cannot fail to recognize that in most cases people see both the documents as the "Yeltsin constitution" or the "Khasbulatov constitution." I would repeat, though, that this distinction is somewhat arbitrary. Since it would be more accurate to mention Sergey Shakhray and Sergey Alekseyev on the one hand, and the Deputy Oleg Rumyantsev and a long list of academics and experts on the other.

But, of course, apart from the arguments between individuals, which always inevitably occur in such cases, there is also the conceptual argument—two visions of the new Russian statehood. The draft drawn up by the Russian Federation Constitutional Commission and examined by the Fifth and Sixth Congresses differs from the "president's" draft mainly in being geared to its "own" balance between the authorities in the state. While the alternative version, although not rejecting the actual idea of the separation of powers, envisages a special role for the president as the person who guarantees the unity of state power. His powers are expanded correspondingly.

For its part, the Constitutional Commission's version (sometimes referred to in the press as the "Rumyantsev" version) depicts the president's rights and obligations in the most detailed fashion, but in terms of its scope or, rather, on the main issue—the system of relations with other branches of power—it is inferior to the "president's" version. In the opinion of a number of constitutional lawyers [pravoved-gosudarstvennik] this draft is the best prepared [proschitan] from the standpoint of the balance of power. If the analysis is conducted in purely theoretical terms, it should probably be admitted that, stripped of their advantages over each other, all three branches of power are guarantors of state stability.

Speaking at a conference of representatives of territories in the Far Eastern region the other day, Sergey Shakhray said, in particular: "What kind of tasks is the president facing? First, to preserve the Russian state's unity and integrity. And, second, to overcome the paralysis of power and dyarchy. Each of these tasks is resolved to a certain extent in the president's draft, and that is its main difference from all the other drafts—that is its conceptual feature." In other words, it is a question of a kind of "operation" to cure the chronic illness of Russian statehood which Shakhray defines as dyarchy.

Unfortunately, we have few grounds so far for saying that we are dealing with a normal creative process that makes provision in a natural fashion for disputes between concepts, different models, legal schools, and so forth. It is possible, if not likely, that this process is under way somewhere unseen, but Russians are mainly being presented with pictures daubed with political slogans. It is as if there is a constitutional rally under way in the country with all the attributes of a rally—excessive emotion, populist formulas, and "purity of ranks," whereby dissidence is simply ruled out.

Admittedly, supporters of hardline positions have been coming in for pressure from life itself of late. On the one hand, there is no unity as regards acceptance of the "president's" version of the constitution in the regions. The draft has been criticized by parliamentary leaders in a number of the formerly autonomous areas. They are unhappy about the fact that the Federation Treaty is included in the draft in its entirety. It has been said that the provisions of Section One of the draft do not square with the Federation Treaty. Representatives of organs of power in the krays and oblasts believe that in the socioeconomic sphere their rights should be on an equal footing with those of the republics. All this means that serious preparations will have to be made for dialogue with Federation components during the Constitutional Conference to be convened in June.

On the other hand, the situation within the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet has changed too. Nikolay Ryabov, deputy chairman of parliament, initially stated that it was necessary to seek agreement with the president in the work on a new constitution. Then, literally the other day, this was also mentioned at a conference of the Soviet of the Republic. Chamber Chairman Veniamin Sokolov stressed the need to support and legitimize the idea of convening a Constitutional Conference—which in itself attests to deputies' critical attitude to the hardline stance adopted by the speaker of parliament. These signs of "goodwill" will probably not go unnoticed by the presidential side.

At any rate, the sides are simply bound to engage in a working dialogue in the prevailing situation. Ultimately, it is impossible to disagree with those politicians who are warning the authorities against an outcome to the constitutional process which would split the country into winners and losers. Something else is clear too—the atmosphere of strife and tough confrontation is advantageous to those forces in Russia which cannot hope for any success in the context of a normal, civilized, political process.

Political Issues

Rutskoy Outlines Stance of Centrist Forces

LD2205162093 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 0630 GMT 22 May 93

[From the "EKO: Ecological Review" program]

[Excerpts] On 20 May in Moscow there was an extended meeting of representatives of centrist forces. Politicians, academics, party leaders, trade union officials, creative intelligentsia, and leaders of public organizations assembled to determine the concept of cooperation and to form a centrist socio-political coalition.

[Begin Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy recording] All who are opposed to radicalism in its various manifestations are, in principle, centrist forces. [end recording] [passage omitted]

At the end of the meeting there was a news conference at which participants in the meeting replied to questions from journalists.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified journalist] The idea of uniting, integrating, around a common center implies that this center is sufficiently strong. That is, in the center there should be some very strong uniting idea. Do you not think that this sufficiently strong idea could be ecology, in the form of treating what we have wisely.

[Rutskoy] The most important problem of our life is the biosphere in which people exist. Everyone talks and talks about this. But there is no action. Why is there no action? Because the legal mechanism is not working. Within 30-50 years from now there will simply be nothing healthy from which to create normal biological stocks.

Today 70 percent, and at times, in some regions, 90 percent of the young men called up—they undergo medical checks—are sick. In Russia today the death rate is 80 percent higher than the birth rate. Where is this leading? Therefore, this is one of the main themes and one of the main problems and it must be resolved. [end recording]

Another important area of the coalition's activities is to create an efficient system of economic management on the basis of a socially orientated economy. We had a separate conversation with Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy on this subject. [video shows radio studio where Rutskoy is interviewed by Abov Dzhulikyan, editor in chief of the Rezonans radio station]

[Begin recording] [Dzhulikyan] A few months ago my journalist colleagues and analysts considered that the political situation of Russian President Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin was like a tightrope walker and wondered whether he would fall to the left or the right. But now the thoughts and all the attention of my colleagues have switched to the vice president of Russia.

[Rutskoy] Let us start by asking whether we are living as we should; do we have the means to live as we should? And I tell you that the reply to both these questions will be positive: Yes. This is because there is no state in the world with the power, raw material, industrial and scientific-technical resources to equal Russia's. but at the same time the question arises as to why we are living so badly. I always try, perhaps I am not giving a very specific answer, but I think it is sufficiently comprehensive, it is because of the inability to make the best of what we possess, in the interests of the individual, in the interests of society. the individual and society are components of what is called the state.

People are losing the main thing, belief. Belief and hope. Belief and hope not only in the state and in organs of power. the most important, the most terrible thing that is happening is that people are losing belief in themselves, in the individual, in people. Today, for example, the death rate in the Russian federation on average exceeds the birth rate by 80 percent. Is this a good thing or a bad thing?

[Dzhulikyan] The number of abortions has increased by 250 percent in the past two years. This means that people have no desire to live, themselves, or to allow others to live.

[Rutskoy] This figure confirms what I have been saying: Loss of belief in oneself. Take the fall in production. During the four years of the war against fascism it fell 24 percent. During the years of the reforms it fell 30 percent.

Take the fall in agricultural production. During the four years of the war it fell 18 per cent; in the years of reform 32 percent.

Look at the means of payment, that is at the national monetary unit. The annual rate of inflation is 2,500 percent. And here everyone has forgotten that the ruble is not just a means of payment, it is a price. What is it the price of? It is the price of resources and of scientific and technical potential.

When we cite these figures—and the figures are the most objective witnesses and evidence of what is happening in society—can one agree with this?

[Caption reads: You are watching a television recording of a program which went out live on the Rezonans radio station. A question from a listener by telephone]

[Telephone question] Do you not think that aim of the present neo-Bolsheviks in the president's entourage is the disintegration of the Russian Federation along the borders thought up in the 1920's by the Bolsheviks? And what is your attitude to the abolition of the national-territory formations and the introduction of purely territorial division?

[Rutskoy] I have now finished my work. I have been studying the archives again and making notes on the speeches by various world politicians and, you know, a very interesting picture appears. it seems that the Union did not collapse by chance, it was programmed. The same is happening with the Russian Federation.

Yes, the constitution must be adopted and adopted without delay. With what aim? With the most important aim—to prevent the disintegration of Russia. That is the most terrible thing that could happen. I tell you that the confrontation which has arisen today at the summit of power is not the problem, it is a question that can be solved. But I tell you that the disintegration of Russia would simply be a tragedy.

So, why do I come out today against this constitution which is being foisted on the people? Look, it represents another move away from the principle of federalism. It does not give equal rights to the subjects of the federation. It does not matter whether the division is on a territorial basis or a regional basis. Equal rights must be given to the subjects of the federation. Because it makes absolutely no difference whether a citizen lives in a republic, in an oblast or a kray. All should have equal rights if we wish to preserve the state and not make it again some sort of empire or unitary state.

Now that I am ending my work I have more time and I am trying to formulate the concept of Russia, itself. The book will have this title: On the present and future of Russia [O nastoyashchim i budushchim Rossii] The book contains an analysis of how we got into this situation. Half of it contains specific proposals on questions of foreign economic activity, questions of the federative structure, questions of industrial policy, questions of the development of business, questions of how to resolve society's social problems. In essence, if one rephrases all of this, this is, in essence, a program.

The situation which exists in the economy results from the fact that we did not have a properly drawn up budget in 1992 or in 1993. And there is universal thieving going on and what I jokingly describe as the period of the big grab. I agree with you here as well. Therefore, all this, again, results from the fact that instead of occupying themselves with the budget and the budget message you see what the president's entourage is busying itself with. It is trying to push and impose onto the population and the people of Russia a constitution which they do not understand.

I recently said that, yes, I shall put forward my candidacy and I shall tell you why. If I ensure that such people and such a team—What we are accustomed to call a team—no longer get into power I shall be morally satisfied.

[Telephone question] I would like to ask Aleksandr Vladimirovich: If he were prime minister now what immediate measures would he take to improve the economy and get it out of the crisis?

[Rutskoy] The first and most important action should be to create a single banking system and to create a single banking- computer network in order to run the state's financial system.

Second, the exchange rate of the ruble against the dollar must be sorted out. Because in no state of the world, in no state of the world, is the exchange rate of the national currency determined by a commercial exchange. The exchange rate of the national currency is determined by the state bank. The national currency is not just a means of payment, it is the price of those things which the state possesses. Therefore, these are the two most important questions.

The second action is, in the first place, the introduction of the necessary order—I do not mean command-administrative methods and there would be no totalitarian-administrative actions but on the basis of the law—in foreign economic policy, because today's foreign economic policy is damaging and is not working in the interests of the state and is not in the interests of Russian society.

Further, what is needed is to take an inventory of the whole legislative basis in accordance with the economic relations which have arisen in our society. Because today's economic relations in our society are in the first instance a feeding ground for corruption and economic crime. This also must be put in order without delay. And further, it is necessary to determine the priorities which I have spoken about on more than one occasion already. [passage omitted]

Today it is not advantageous to engage in business in the production sphere. The state has created conditions which simply skin those businessmen who try to engage in production. It is not profitable. What sort of state policy is this? So, if we speak about the current political process, about the principles of defending the interests of society, civilization invented political parties and political movements in which an individual would have the opportunity to express various points of views and opinions. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Presidential Aide Urges Congress To Dissolve Itself

MK2205102093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 May 93 p 1

[Interview with Sergey Yushenkov, deputy chief of the Federal Information Center, by Pavel Anokhin; place and date not given: "If the Congress Does Not Dissolve Itself, We Will Block Its Work"]

[Text] [Anokhin] Sergey Nikolayevich, in an appeal to Russian people's deputies, you and your allies called on the Russian legislators to make a decision on halting the activity of the Congress of People's Deputies...

[Yushenkov] The results of the referendum have shown that the course of the congress toward hindering political and economic reforms and confrontation with the Russian president has been denounced by the majority of the voters. And this is logical. Recently, a reactionary, pro-Communist majority unfortunately entrenched itself in the Russian legislature, opposing broad privatization, tight financial policies aimed at limiting price rises, and radical political changes in society... This course of the incumbent parliament runs counter to the will of the majority of Russians.

[Anokhin] Would you please substantiate these conclusions by giving some specific facts?

[Yushenkov] Just recall the elections of the incumbent Russian deputies—only around 35 out of 105 million people voted for them. Around 35 percent of the parliamentarians won at that time with less than half of the votes cast. Among them were many members of the recalcitrant opposition—V. Aksyuchits, I. Andronov, L. Bakhtiyarova, I. Bratishchev, S. Goryacheva, Yu. Gekht, V. Zorkaltsev, O. Plotnikov, I. Rybkin, Ye. Tarasov, R. Chebotarevskiy... Not to mention the fact that the elections were held in a different country, on the basis of a constitution adopted undemocratically.

The recent referendum has compounded the position of the deputy corps. It should be noted that in the 1990 elections less than 35 million people voted for the entire deputy corps, and in 1993 more than 46 million Russians voted for new elections. Had the results been counted under the Law on Referendums, which should have been the case, then we have only two republics—Ingushetia and Dagestan—that voted against early elections.

A compelling argument for the voluntary dissolution of the congress is the question of the legitimacy of the soviets. This system was established as a result of a military coup d'etat staged by the Bolsheviks in 1917. Therefore, the soviets are illegitimate owing to the very source of their creation, whereas the Russian presidency was introduced by the people at the referendum in 1991.

In the current conditions, it is a debt of honor and conscience of each responsible deputy to contribute to holding a new election to a bicameral, professional parliament as soon as possible.

[Anokhin] And what do you plan to do to achieve this?

[Yushenkov] We will try to bring together 350 to 400 legislators, who will officially propose that the Congress of People's Deputies make a decision to dissolve itself. If achieving this proves impossible, this group will be able to block the work of the congress by "depriving it of a quorum," which will reduce all its decisions to pieces of paper having no legal force.

[Anokhin] How many people have already signed the appeal?

[Yushenkov] Around 200 deputies of a whole range of political hues. At present, many of them realize that the desire of the Supreme Soviet and the Congress of People's Deputies to ignore the will of the Russian people is nothing but the usurpation of power.

Chernomyrdin Departs for 12-Day Vacation in Sochi

LD2405085393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0731 GMT 24 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow May 24 TASS—Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin left for vacations for Sochi. He will be resting there for 12 days, till June 4, ITAR-TASS learned from the Russian government's press service today.

Kozyrev Article Views Human Rights, Sakharov Legacy

PM2405130193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 May 93 First Edition p 5

[Article by Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev: "Sakharov's Legacy and Russia's Fate in the World"]

[Text] Sakharov exploded onto our society like a noisy intruder onto our conformist tranquility, like a battering ram which had plowed through the reinforced concrete system of party lies. His path from a godforsaken nuclear "facility" in the center of Russia to the center of the political battle in our country was not easy. From simple pacifism based on an understanding of the might of nuclear weapons, Andrey Dmitriyevich graduated to what was in those years heretical generalization: It is impossible to solve the equation of the world's nuclear safety without a fundamentally new solution to the equation of the individual and the state in our country. From petitions to the system in defense of specific people humiliated and persecuted by it, he rose to a rejection of the system itself, and through this to a realization of the need to reform it on the basis of democratic values.

And it was a veritable verbal stoning which burst forth in answer to Sakharov's "radicalism" from the aggressively obedient majority at the First Congress of Russian People's Deputies (which opened almost exactly four years ago—25 May 1989)! In May 1993, those very same political forces have armed themselves with cobblestones—only these stones, despite all reason and in defiance of the referendum, are aimed at the majority of what is now the congress of Russian deputies. Once again, Andrey Dmitriyevich's closest associate—S.A. Kovalev [chairman of state committee on human rights]—is forced down from the Supreme Soviet rostrum by unceremonious cries. The very Supreme Soviet committees which had helped to introduce democratic reform are doing the routing.

But suddenly there is a desire to pass off the shift by the deputies' corps toward the red/brown corner of the political spectrum as resistance to "democratic radicalism," and covert or overt neo-communists as centrists. But already, this "centrist bloc," having shifted toward the left, has placed the freedom of the mass media in jeopardy. We are still "not ready" to introduce the jury system, to abolish residence permits, or, most importantly, to do away with the "supreme form of democracy"—the system of Soviets.

And this is despite the fact that the opinion of the majority of society at the referendum diverged from the position of the "patriotic" members of the Supreme Soviet and Congress, and the vice president. Today, those who swore 24 April to respect the voters' opinion, are declaring with disarming effrontery that the referendum has changed nothing, and that they will all remain in their places.

It is no coincidence that, at the height of his struggle, A.D. Sakharov understood that the way to get out of the Soviet impasse resided in the adoption of a new Constitution, and he undertook to prepare it. And what a furor followed! Accusations of dilettantism, of ignoring the principles of Soviet state structure rained down. But the subtext was quite different. How did he have the nerve?! Instead of us, "mobilized and drafted" by the system?! You know, Sakharov had encroached upon the holy of holies—on the drafting of the concept of power. But this was always done through the compromises of an apparatus of like-minded thinkers (previously the Politburo, now, it seems, every kind of "roundtable," "presidium," and pseudo-parliamentary commission contributes...).

Nevertheless, Sakharov had the moral right to undertake the elaboration of the Constitution. This right was not inherited or bestowed from above, nor was it delegated by any sect or party. It was the right of an individual, having stirred the people, to appeal to this people directly.

Today, this right to appeal directly to the people is enjoyed in Russia by one person—the president. He differs from other political activists—from Gorbachev to the speakers and other "leaders of the people"—by the fact that he has already received a second national mandate of confidence in the last two years.

The political forces alarmed by the referendum and fearing a repeat of their failure, assert that people are tired of putting voting slips into the ballot boxes. Well, if you consider the best form of recreation for our people to be a televised show-Congress every evening, and the nightly expectation of "visits" from the secret police or mafia terrorists, you would have to agree. But you know, we have already "rested" in this fashion for 70 years... No, it is not referenda which threaten to plunge the country into chaos. We may slide into this state through disorder or a usurping of power. Adopting the Constitution provides a way out of a dangerous impasse—it is the basic element for imposing order in our home.

Let us reject the lamentations of the faithless, who have become uneasy by the realization that we are by no means a crowd capable of movement only when standing in waiting lines for vodka or sausage. These people are afraid that Sakharov was right when he described the people as alive. Indeed, these fearful politicians are now trying to gloss over the referendum results, to "manipulate" what are for them unacceptable results by bureaucratic tinkering. It is time to cast aside artfulness. If there is something to say on the essence of the presidential draft Constitution, then this should be done outright. At the moment, behind the confusion over "compromises" lie nervous efforts to save one's own positions, to defend the "authority" which in the eyes of the people has already expired.

In many ways, our country's place in the world depends upon Russia's judicial future. Here is an example—our relations with the Council of Europe, an organization created over 40 years ago to promote democratic ideals, and to develop cultural and other cooperation on the European continent. How can Russia be accepted into this organization if it has yet to hold elections on a multiparty basis, and without a democratic constitution? If there is somebody in our country who believes that we can stumble into the Council of Europe with a constitution borrowed from a world of judicial phantoms (the USSR, the RSFSR) under our arm, then our partners in Europe have every right to be dubious. You can object as much as you like on this score, but self-respect should rouse in Russians not irritation against the "stubborn" Council of Europe, but a desire for self-improvement, including in the judicial sphere. Had we been judged only according to the presidential elections and the referendum, we would already be in the Council of Europe today.

Russia, having started the move toward democratic ideals, has already acquired support from partners among the democratic states of the world. Partnership generates degrees and forms of cooperation previously unthinkable.

Proof of this are the treaties or major political documents signed with France, England, the United States, Sweden, and a number of other states all of which are new in terms of principle and spirit. It is precisely such partnership relations which stand behind the decisions adopted at the Tokyo meeting by G-7 foreign and finance ministers on assisting Russian reforms.

The commitments that states have assumed in the human dimension sphere are of judicial interest for all, and they are not an exclusively domestic matter for one or other country. This situation was debated fiercely for decades by Soviet diplomacy. Now it has become one of the principles of Russia's foreign policy concept. This also required a struggle by Sakharov's generation. In order to bring this principle into practice, the Russian Foreign Ministry under the president's leadership is conducting work in the following areas.

We are speaking out in defense of human rights in those countries where they are grossly flouted. In U.N. organs and at other forums, the Russian Foreign Ministry is raising its voice in support of those persecuted on the territory of former Yugoslavia, on occupied Arab territories, in South Africa, Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, Cambodia, Cuba, and other countries. Today, once again, we are urging the governments of all countries where citizens' basic rights and freedoms are violated to halt this practice.

Within the framework of the United Nations and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe [CSCE], we acted as the initiators or co-authors of proposals aimed at strict compliance with human rights. I will highlight in particular the initiative aimed at resisting aggressive nationalism. Right now, this is one of the main threats both to international stability and to human rights in many regions. It is Russia which initiated the posing of the problem of combating aggressive nationalism among the top-priority tasks in world politics. At the UN General Assembly's 47th Session, we were co-authors of the Declaration of the Rights of Persons Belonging to National, Ethnic, Religious, and Linguistic Minorities. Within the framework of the CSCE, we, in conjunction with France, put forward a proposal on combating xenophobia and aggressive nationalism.

It is quite natural that our foreign policy focuses greatest attention on the problems of defending the rights of our compatriots in nearby and remote foreign parts. What exactly is being done here?

Let us look at the Commonwealth of Independent States. The ultimate aim in this area is to create a unified judicial area within the framework of the CIS which would help prevent the emergence and escalation of interethnic conflicts, promoting their peaceful settlement. On our initiative, a decision was adopted to set up a Human Rights Commission within the CIS framework. We are putting forward a proposal on adopting a Declaration of Human Rights in Commonwealth States.

Our primary task in bilateral relations with CIS partners is to conclude treaties on the mutual defense of interests of citizens on the territories of the parties to these treaties; the right to a free choice of citizenship; the rights of ethnic, linguistic, cultural, and religious minorities; the terms for resettling citizens in another state; legal aid; mutual pension provision; migration; refugees; and a number of other things.

Russia's diplomats are grateful to our human rights protection organizations for their help in elaborating the initiatives in the sphere of human rights protection submitted by us at the United Nations, the CSCE, and the CIS. We hope for further fruitful cooperation, particularly when preparing our stance at the imminent World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna.

A subject of particular concern and worry for us is the situation of compatriots in countries of the Baltic region, in particular Estonia and Latvia. Despite virtually uninterrupted dialogue with the authorities of these republics regarding numerous violations of the rights of the Russian-speaking population, and despite the fact that

Tallinn and Riga have eliminated some of our concerns, the situation remains unsatisfactory. Here, once again, let us mention the Council of Europe. It demonstrated unacceptable complacency by accepting Estonia into its ranks a few days ago, and, what is more, as one of the first in Eastern Europe. And this is despite the presence in that republic of hundreds of thousands of persons without citizenship, frustrated in their basic rights! So even our partners have room for improvement.

The feeling of dissatisfaction with oneself, the feeling of having not quite done one's duty to the people, was, undoubtedly, a dominant feature in Sakharov's character. "I hope, nevertheless, that I will manage to do something useful," he wrote in his memoirs not long before his death. This modest man with the soul of a courageous warrior did a great deal for Russia. Now those very same feelings must motivate us in the matter of implanting democracy in our land.

Military & Space Issues

Shokhin To Chair Military Technical Cooperation Committee

LD2405084693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0810 GMT 24 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow, 24 May—Viktor Chernomyrdin has signed an instruction confirming the appointment of Deputy Premier Aleksandr Shokhin as chairman of the Russian Federation Interdepartmental Committee for Military Technical Cooperation with Foreign Countries [Mezhvedomstvennaya Komissiya po Voyenno-Tekhnicheskomy Sotrudnichestvy]. Aleksandr Shokhin has been instructed "to make the necessary personnel changes" in the commission within one month.

Khizha Denies Involvement in Missile Smuggling Case

MK2205072093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 21 May 93 p 14

[Crime Department-signed report: "Georgiy Khizha Testifies at Investigation. Former Deputy Prime Minister Denies Involvement in Smuggling"]

[Text] The shocking story of the involvement of former Russian Deputy Prime Minister Georgiy Khizha and his staffers in a criminal lawsuit filed by the Russian Main Military Prosecutor's Office with regard to large-scale smuggling of missile weaponry from Russia has evoked a mixed reaction among Russia's government officials and parliamentarians. Khizha's alleged involvement in the scandal will benefit the Russian Government, and Viktor Chernomyrdin in particular, because it excludes Khizha from the list of candidates for the prime ministership in the future. On the other hand, this is a blow to the Russian Supreme Soviet, which actively lobbied for Georgiy Khizha's candidacy at the latest election of Russia's head of government. The investigation is being supervised by Russian General Prosecutor Valentin Stepankov. KOMMERSANT-DAILY experts point out that this is the first case related to arms smuggling from Russia that includes the names of civil servants. Yesterday, however, Georgiy Khizha's press service denied his alleged involvement in the smuggling.

Aleksandr Kobzar, deputy chief of the Investigation Administration of the Russian Main Military Prosecutor's Office, told your KOMMERSANT-DAILY correspondent that on 19 May a meeting of top officials of the Military Prosecutor's Office took place, which decided to set up a specialized inquiry group to investigate the incident. No details were given owing to the confidentiality of the information. Russian General Prosecutor Valentin Stepankov confirmed the report that a lawsuit has been filed to that effect, but also declined to comment on the case.

KOMMERSANT-DAILY has learned from reliable sources that the lawsuit was filed on 17 May with regard to a consignment of "surface-to-surface" and "air-to-air" missiles smuggled from Russia; the consignment was about to be transported to South Africa by Il-76 transport plane (KOMMERSANT-DAILY does not yet know the quantity and the exact value of the missiles). The key Russian exporters specializing in arms trade have nothing to do with the deal. Furthermore, Georgiy Khizha, who was dismissed from his post of Russian deputy prime minister last week, and a number of his staffers are to be summoned as witnesses in the case (this was also confirmed by the Russian general prosecutor's office).

Georgiy Khizha, who was deputy prime minister beginning May 1992, was in charge of the Russian defense sector and, among other things, handled issues of conversion and the privatization of military- industrial enterprises, as well as arms exports via specialized exporters. He devised an extensive program calling for conversion and, later, the privatization and transformation of defense enterprises into joint-stock companies. This was to be financed via proceeds from arms exports. This was confirmed via talks held recently by Khizha with the Kuwaiti deputy foreign minister, and via his address to the European Parliament, in which he tried to convince Western investors to assist Russia in converting its defense enterprises to civilian uses and privatizing them. Georgiy Khizha did not manage, however, to carry through what he had planned.

The official statement distributed by Georgiy Khizha's press service for the mass media says that on 18 May the former deputy prime minister indeed met with one of the investigators conducting the inquiry and gave him explanations on the matters in his sphere of expertise (your KOMMERSANT-DAILY correspondent was not told what particular questions were asked). The press service did not have any information on Georgiy Khizha's being summoned as a witness in the case. Moreover, Georgiy

Khizha himself believes that with regard to this case the press is trying to create a scandal out of thin air.

The official deadline for completing the investigation is 19 July. KOMMERSANT-DAILY will report its results on 20 July or earlier, if fresh details of the incident come to its knowledge.

[Article includes the following boxed passage]

Formerly, arms dealers were caught while taking bribes

KOMMERSANT-DAILY experts note that the criminal lawsuit filed with regard to the smuggling of "surface-to-surface" and "air-to- air" missiles is the first case of this kind in Russia. Formerly (in November 1992), the Russian Security Ministry filed a lawsuit against the employees of Spetsvneshtekhnika, a firm specializing in arms exports, but the case was closed due to lack of evidence. KOMMERSANT-DAILY experts rule out the possibility that government authorities took part in the deal and that Georgiy Khizha was involved in the case: to all appearances, the case boils down to illegal arms exports via private firms.

Kokoshin Comments on Defense Conversion Prospects

PM2105160593 Moscow DELOVIE LYUDI in English No. 32, Apr 93 p 14

[Article by Andrey Kokoshin, first deputy minister of defense: "Andrey Kokoshin: Forward March"]

[Text] Western experts estimate that Russia will require seven years to convert its defence industry to civilian production. Despite foreign investment, the country nevertheless has to rely on its own resources. Russia has a huge arsenal of high technologies, the most revered commodity on the world market, which it has still not learned how to use effectively. The West respects this potential. At present, Russia owns 60-70 percent of the former Soviet military-industrial complex, and up to 85 percent—in some cases 100 percent—of its scientific centres. The challenge is not to destroy the defence-related industry, but to convert it to serve the peaceful interests of state and society.

Until quite recently, the military industry earned one-third of all hard-currency revenues of the ex-USSR. Admittedly, its products—for ideological reasons—were often sold at throwaway prices. Provided the potential of the defence industry is fully utilized, Russia can become one of the 5-7 leading industrial countries in the world within 10 to 15 years. Yet this goal will be attained in stages. Unlike the recent past, when all matters were decided by Moscow, the country is now shifting emphasis to local manufacturers: large companies in the provinces, and financial and industrial groups.

It is important for Russia to maintain its position in the markets of former Soviet republics, to restore its position in Eastern Europe, and to win new world markets. None of this is simple: for example, the use of foreign-made engines in civilian aircraft may seem wise now, but the Russian engine industry should not be allowed to die as a result. Russians have no need to indulge in self-abasement. Their country possesses abundant resources, and its defence industry can certainly open doors to a new market economy. The development of advanced technologies is directly linked to the aviation and space industries. It is also generally acknowledged that Russia is the leader in some sectors of shipbuilding, in the production of high-grade steel and composite materials, in laser technology, and in software design.

Conversion can help solve housing shortages, accelerate the spread of information technologies throughout the country, develop and improve transport systems, re-equip health services, and ensure a complete cycle of production and processing of farm produce.

The first significant breakthroughs are expected in 5 to 6 years. This optimism is based on the conversion results of the Saratov aircraft plant, the Biisk chemical plant, the Antei and Almaz scientific and production amalgamations, the Khrunichev production amalgamations, and the Ilyushin and Sukhoi aircraft firms. The management of these defence-related plants has successfully diversified production to increase the output of civilian products.

The world has entered an era of strategic economic alliances. The growth of new international corporations is slowing down as other forms of international cooperation, more flexible and unbinding on the parties involved, emerge. Russia needs foreign partners. Many foreign businessmen are likely to turn to Russian companies when seeking economic partners. The structure for this cooperation—study of the dynamics of the world market, and its conjuncture—should be developed with the help of the Foreign Ministry, foreign economic organizations, and foreign intelligence, which can provide information and analytical support for the country's industrial policy.

The military-industrial complex provides unique possibilities for market-based organizations, and for the creation of diversified corporations with state and private capital. Among them are businesses with subsidiaries abroad.

The first financial and industrial groups adapted to the production of high-tech products, both civilian and military, have emerged. It was decided that technological corporations should be established which would deal with all aspects of the development, production, and, if need be, sale of high-quality products with dual application. The financial and production groups will consist of banks, investment are insurance funds, insurance agencies, and trading companies. Naturally, all these "locomotives" of the conversion drive need support, especially in the initial stages. The government would like them to enjoy certain benefits and plans to provide incentives to foreign investors to develop economic ties with local private businesses that are involved in long-term industrial projects.

Defense Industries Committee Head on Arms Sales, Conversion

PM2005095393 Moscow DELOVIE LYUDI in English No. 32, Apr 93 pp 22-23

[Article by Viktor Glukhin, chairman of the Russian Committee for Defense Industries and former chief engineer of St. Petersburg's Metal Works: "Viktor Glukhin: Still an Arms Race"]

[Text] Converting Russia's military-industrial complex is a painful process beset with many difficulties. The process is taking place under conditions of insufficient financing and disrupted economic ties. The military-industrial complex comprises more than 1,700 enterprises and organizations, including about 200 research centres, and a labour force of 6 million—although this number is constantly decreasing. The complex turns out 1.5 trillion roubles' worth of products. Contrary to common belief, the share of civilian goods in the defence-industry production is already about 80 percent. Defence-related enterprises produce all Russian colour television sets and bicycles, 80 percent of refrigerators, and other consumer goods. At the same time wages in the defence industry remain among the lowest in the country. The average salary of a worker at Yekaterinburg's rocket factory was 5,000 roubles a month in late 1992, while that of a worker at the neighbouring tobacco factory was 38,000 roubles, and 49,000 roubles at the local distillery.

Conversion relies on a general principle, with a specific approach for every plant. Retaining the scientific potential of the military-industrial complex is the main priority. This concept is being specified and amended because Russia's military doctrine is being reviewed and the armed forces are undergoing a process of reform. There are already some clearly defined programmes for specific branches of industry. One of these is the manufacture of aircraft and sea vessels for civilian use. A special programme for the revival of the Russian fleet has also been designed. There are similar programmes for communications and rocket technology. These projects are, naturally, linked with other developments that are difficult to forecast. For instance, 1992 was the first year in 75 years of its history that Russia did not begin construction on a single naval ship. Furthermore, the fate of naval vessels already under construction remains unclear. What should be done with them? Should they be dismantled for scrap? How will that affect Russia's defence potential within the next 5 to 10 years?

The Committee for Defence Industries maintains that, wherever it is possible technologies used in the military-industrial complex should be declassified and handed over to the civilian sector (some of which were made "secret" as long ago as in the 40s). Special emphasis is placed on "dual technologies," products which can be used in both the civilian and military areas.

Conversion is proceeding at a fast pace in Russia, despite serious difficulties and numberous problems. No other country has had similar experience in rapid disarmament. Arms orders were cut by 32 percent in 1991 compared to 1990, and by 68 percent in 1992 compared to the previous year. The United States, Germany, and other Western countries have been reducing their military production by no more than 3-5 percent a year, with attempts to make the cuts more drastic running up against stiff opposition from industrialists and provoking stormy debates in governments and parliaments.

Conversion is an expensive commodity. In 1992, it cost Russia 77 billion roubles. One rouble of converted products incurred 1.2 roubles in expenses. So far only 300 billion roubles have been allocated for conversion programmes in 1993, primarily for long-term projects.

Despite the extremely fast pace of conversion, the Russian military-industrial complex will not abandon making exports, even though last-year's indicators might have led to such a conclusion. In 1992, Russia exported $4 billion worth of arms, which amounted to 17 percent of world sales (the US share was 57 percent). In 1988 and 1989, the Soviet Union held the leading position, with sales estimated at $11 billion, or 38.7 percent (the US share was then about 30 percent). The Soviet share included gratuitous aid in weapons, and deliveries on credits, which are unlikely to be repaid. Russian export of weapons has also been influenced by political decisions, including the country's participation in UN sanctions against Yugoslavia, Libya, and Iraq which cost Russian arms exporters $7,0 billion in losses. The current revenues of $4 billion in the military-industrial complex are not the limit, and there are plans to expand the export of military hardware in 1993. Russia has now adopted a new approach to arms trade, and is offering complete systems of sophisticated weaponry. In February 1993 at a show in Abu Dhabi, the United Arab Emirates, Russia not only displayed samples of military equipment, but also offered maintenance services, personnel training, etc...Potential customers showed particular interest in the anti-missile complexes S-300 and Tochka-U, which demonstrated properties in test-firing that by far exceed those displayed by American missiles used during strikes on Baghdad.

The scale of arms trade and its efficiency can be expanded provided arms manufacturers participate in it directly. Arms trading is not only big politics, but also big economics. Arms, accounting for 20 percent of the former Soviet Union's revenues, constituted, along with oil, gas, and timber, the main source of hard currency. It is interesting to note that President Bush presented the sale to Taiwan of more than 70 F-16 planes as an economic success that will keep 40,000 jobs in the

United States. It is clear to specialists that the international arms market will remain an arena of keen competition. Everyone remembers the episode when the United States raised a clamour over the alleged dumping price at which the Glavkosmos space administration sold rocket boosters to India, but few knew that the Americans also took part in the international tender, and started the protest only after they lost the bid. A similar situation surrounded the sale of diesel submarines to Iran. Although few, especially in the West, would agree with this assessment, Russia not only intends to maintain traditional partnerships with China, India, and some Arab countries, but also to "restore a presence" in its old markets, including Eastern Europe—which until recently accounted for 40 percent of Soviet arms exports—and also to acquire new markets in Malaysia, South Korea, the United Arab Emirates, and possibly South Africa (following the lifting of UN sanctions). Arms trading hinges on certain international principles, and certain bans, and takes into account "the balance of forces" in various regions. It is a very specific business, and the customers are usually states. Russia intends to pursue a realistic, active, and more flexible policy, deprived of ideological colouring, in this field of international business.

Tor Air Defense Missile Complex Described

PM2405091993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 May 93 First Edition p 6

[Viktor Litovkin article under the rubric "New Russian Weapons": "The 'Bublik' That Shoots Down Missiles and Planes"]

[Text] The "Tor-MI" air defense missile complex does not look like a combat vehicle armed with a weapon of awesome power. In appearance it is more like a track-mounted tank or artillery truck with two antennae on the command turret.

Only the specialists know that inside this turret, under square hatches, there are eight vertical lift-off missiles standing side by side like cartridges in a belt capable of destroying any airborne target—guided aviation missiles, aerial glide bombs, independently-targeted high-precision projectiles, planes (fighters or ground attack planes), helicopters, or unmanned remote-controled intelligence and attack facilities—within seconds over distances of 1 km to 20 km. Furthermore, this applies to even the smallest targets weighing less than 200 kg.

Our missiles are concealed, Academician Veniamin Yefremov, general designer of the "Antey" Science-and-Production Association, told me, to prevent them from being damaged by the branches of trees as they travel in tank and combined arms columns through forests, and the catapult-aided vertical launch offers the capability of firing at aerial targets instantaneously no matter where they are without additional time-consuming turns or realignments."

No system in the world has such potential—not the U.S. Chapparal, the British Rapier, the Franco-German Roland-5, or the French Crotale-NG.

The Tor system is also unique because everything—the target-acquisition radar, the phased-array position radar set for tracking targets, computers, and the missile guidance and launch system—the whole attack complex is built on a single track-mounted chassis based on a medium tank. It has the terrain capability, speed, and maneuverability of a tank and can be transported by plane.

Last fall I observed combat shooting by the Tor-MI complex at the "Emba" Russian-Kazakh test range in the south of Aktyubinsk Oblast. Not one of the sophisticated devices launched by the other side at the exercises—simulating high-precision weapons—escaped undamaged. True, this is no surprise. The Tor antiaircraft missile complex has a technical kill probability of 0.9. The best foreign equivalents, the Rapier-2000, the Roland-5, and the Crotale-NG, which will not go into operation until 1995 and 1996 respectively, are considerably below that level.

In addition, the Tor complex can detect and identify 48 targets at the same time and track and fire at two of them simultaneously. Its foreign counterparts can only track and fire at one. Moreover it has a target altitude range of 10 meters to 6,000 meters. This is very useful for hitting a helicopter which suddenly emerges from behind a hill or a low-flying ground attack plane.

Last February the Tor demonstrated its combat qualities at the international arms fair in Abu Dhabi. It shot down all its six targets with six missiles. Eye-witnesses told me about a trick which the Tor complex crew performed there. The Tor, incidentally, has a three-man crew—a commander, an operator, and a driver. The Tor's missiles, whose warheads weigh 15 kg, shot down the large fragments of targets brought down by other antiaircraft missile complexes as they fell from the sky, no longer in their preset ballistic trajectory but falling at random.

A close-combat system such as the Tor—and it is intended for the Ground Forces at divisional level—is of course created by collectives of scientists, engineers, technicians, and workers numbering many thousands of people. But the original creators, ideologists, and main developers of the whole work are the general designer—we have already met him—and the author—the chief designer. In the case of Tor, this is Iosif Drize.

Interestingly, Yefremov and Drize have been working together for over 40 years now. Veniamin Pavlovich joined the present "Antey" concern, which combines two defense science and research institutes and several large plants, back in 1945—in those days it was just a "post office box number"—after graduating from the Moscow Electrical Engineering Communications Institute. Iosif Matveyevich joined in 1949, after training at the Moscow Aviation Institute.

Over the years the firm has created antiaircraft missile complexes for the Ground Forces such as the Krug—Yefremov and Drize won the Lenin Prize for that—and all the modifications of the Osa—it won the "Hero's Star" for its general designer. But the "Antey" Science and Production Association's latest designs—the Tor and the S-300V complex—are its main achievements. The S-300V's main designer is Lenin Prize winner Viktor Yepifanov, and we shall describe his system at a later date. According to the evidence of JANE'S, the most authoritative weapons journal, there will be nothing like it anywhere else in the world before the end of this century.

One final point. When talking with Academician Yefremov I asked him how the word "Tor," which means very little to the average Russian, appeared in the name of a Russian antiaircraft system. The answer is quite simple—apparently it comes from the geometrical term toroid. It is like a bublik [a ring-shaped bread roll]. That is the shape in which the complex's 9M331 missiles split up and fly to the target to destroy it.

'Military Review' Interviews Grachev, Others

LD2305155193

[Editorial Report] Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian at 0715 GMT on 23 May broadcasts the "Military Review" program.

The program opens with a segment on the Russian Federation border troops advanced school in Golitsyno. A video report by an unidentified correspondent shows shots of students studying and at training sessions at the school. The video is captioned Moscow Oblast. The next shot shows a caption that says "Tajikistan" and shows shots of a guardtower, artillery pieces in a valley, and a pan of a valley.

The correspondent says: "Any state has, first and foremost, borders. Borders have always existed and at all times the best—honest, strong and brave—people were put there to protect the borders." The video shows a map, servicemen deactivating a home-made bomb on a road, mountain scenes, a convoy of armored personnel carriers and buses on a mountain road; and a group of men in military uniform. The correspondent goes on to note that the recruiting pool for border guards has become smaller. The graduates may be sent, though voluntarily, to present hotspots such as the Tajikistan-Afghanistan border, where service is difficult.

Aleksandr Masyuk, commander of the Moscow border troops detachment, based on the Tajikistan-Afghanistan border, is interviewed. He says: "Why am I here today? My life credo boils down to one thing and to put it in [Tsar] Peter's words: serve the Fatherland and never give away your honor. The Russian soldier here is protecting, strictly speaking, the interests of Russia, yes, the interests of Russia. The matter is that if one does not analyze and understand what is going on at present, later on it will be too late for that. The Americans drew up a comprehensive program 20 years ago—the issue of what the pan-Islamic factor is like and what the consequences will be of this factor were discussed behind closed doors by the Congress. They already understood that factor 20 years ago, but we still fail to understand this even now. Russia may find itself with borders that could include only Tver Gubernya [historic province], Moscow, Yaroslav Gubernya, and so on, since there is here the issue of Tatarstan and other, let's say, quasi-state formations that are already independent now and where the clergy may introduce the Islamic factor."

The correspondent goes on to remark that Islamic fanaticism is something difficult to understand and even exotic to most Russians, though the Afghanistan problem was one of the cases where this factor had been encountered. Masyuk says that some fighters from an "adjacent territory" install home-made bombs on roads in Tajikistan, which had been used before in Afghanistan. Nevertheless, the Russian border troops continue to carry out their difficult duties in an honest manner, he concludes.

At 0721 GMT, the program reports on a Russian Greenpeace protest rally at the Russian Federation Ministry for Nuclear Energy building against the ministry's decision to build more nuclear power stations. Video shows scenes of the rally and a few brief interviews with Greenpeace activists.

At 0723 GMT, the program broadcasts an "exclusive" interview with Anatoliy Georgiyevich Pavlov, who is identified by caption as, until 1989, first deputy head of the Main intellligence directorate and in intelligence work since 1943. Pavlov is shown in military uniform being interviewed in an office. The interviewer is not identified.

Pavlov begins by discussing the role of an intelligence service. He says: "An intelligence service gathers information, puts it into files, and stores it, since a general picture of something is frequently made up—just as a mosaic—from individual pieces of information. The strength of the intelligence service and the task of the analytical bodies, of the information-analytical bodies, is to provide when necessary, and at the necessary moment in time, as complete information as possible, which has been gathered and compiled by this work."

He continues: "The essential quality of an intelligence worker is patriotism, love of the Fatherland, of the people, and of your own country. This is the reason, as they say, why an intelligence worker goes to work in such a risky and dangerous job. At the same time, there exist a few individuals of a certain type who are rotten to the core from the very first, as they say."

The correspondent asks: "What is your attitude toward the publications by Viktor Suvorov?"

Pavlov says: "Suvorov, I would like to put it this way, is a former major of the (?Rezum) military intelligence service. He failed to produce any results in his operative work. He failed to show ability for intelligence work. He worked as people say, on a casual basis. While being involved in secondary activities and having some chances to go off base, he managed to get mixed up with the British special services."

The correspondent then asks: "What about his second book 'Icebreaker'?"

Pavlov says: "The role of Britain, France, and others in the events on the eve of the [World War II] war and during the first stage of the war was somewhat ambigious, so to speak, and strange. To put it simply, they always tried to make Hitler clash with, to set him against the Soviet Union. Today, in order to defend the role they played, they need to play the (?Rezum) card. In this, one can see the hand of the new owners who are paying for his upkeep."

The correspondent asks: "Does this mean that he did not write the books?" Pavlov says: "As for whether he wrote the books or someone else did it, I have been told that experts are almost completely convinced that the books are written by different authors."

The correspondent interjects: "Nevetheless, the KGB, let's say, frequently talks about its activities, and we know a lot about this system. We are proud of the intelligence workers of this system. As for the military intelligence service, very little is known about it."

Pavlov says: "Imagine a situation in which an intelligence service starts telling everybody about its secrets, its sources, its methods of work, and the technical means it is using; then one understands that nobody will ever work with this intelligence service. Intelligence work is difficult, because one has to work at all times under great pressure and in danger. As for becoming well- known and possibly famous, this comes at the end of one's life and maybe even after one dies."

At 0726 GMT, the program moves to a discussion of the trial of Ivan Demyanyuk, who was accused of being the death-chamber operator in a concentration camp in Poland during World War II. The correspondent points out that the accused was lucky to have a good lawyer, who proved that another man was the "Ivan the Terrible" in the concentration camp. Video shows clips of Demyanyuk speaking at the trial. The correspondent interviews Demyanyuk's Israeli lawyer, who says he believes Demyanyuk is innocent and that the documents supplied by the Soviet KGB for the purpose of incriminating Demyanyuk are false and part of a KGB conspiracy. Demyanyuk, while in prison, has applied for Ukrainian citizenhip.

At 0732 GMT, the program moves to a segment on the central museum of arms. The director of the museum talks about a new exhibition of the White Guard movement in 1918-1922.

At 0734 GMT, the next segment is a round-up of Defense Minister Pavel Grachev's recent visit to the Baltic countries. An unidentified correspondent reports over video of street scenes, and Grachev in civilian dress is shown welcomed at the airport.

The correspondent notes that Russia's Defense Ministry is so closely involved in affirming Russia's new role on the international scene that one is naturally tempted to ask: which is the dominant part in Pavel Grachev's personality at this stage—that of top military man or that of politician? Just a week ago he visited Turkey. Then military and political problems with Georgia were tackled. Now we can talk of the results of his trip to Lithuania, the correspondent says. Important state problems have been solved. In particular, it was determined that the withdrawal of troops from the Baltic republic would be completed by 31 August this year. Military cantonments will be handed over to the Lithuanian side; two military works are to be used jointly; Lithuanian officers will be trained in Moscow.

Grachev says, on this subject: "In political terms, both the Lithuanian president and the military leadership of the Lithuanian Republic are eagerly seeking to cooperate with us, to have relations. It is likely that in the near future we will also talk over these aspects of bilateral relations. But the main thing, of course, is to complete the withdrawal of troops."

The correspondent notes that the military-diplomatic success is obvious. He goes on to interview Russian servicemen in one of the units stationed in the Baltic countries, who say it will be sad to leave the Baltic countries. At the same time, they are ready to follow orders and go to other parts of Russia. Their only worry is housing. L.S. Mayorov, commander of the Russian Northwestern Group of Forces, is shown saying that the housing problem is acute but that it is being tackled. He points out that money has been allocated for re-housing.

At 0740 GMT, the program broadcasts a segment entitled "Belief and Fatherland," which consists of a concert of songs about the Russian army of today.

The program ends at 0743 GMT, with advertisements.

'Red Square' Program on Defense Issues

LD2205182093 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1355 GMT 22 May 93

["Red Square" program presented by Aleksandr Lyubimov with studio guests First Deputy Defense Minister Andrey Kokoshin and Sergey Blagovolin, president of the Institute of National Security and Strategic Research]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Lyubimov] Andrey Afanasyevich, last time you were our guest we criticized you a lot here because we did not have a defense doctrine. As I understand it, one now exists. What is its essence?

[Kokoshin] You know, it can't be said that it already exists in full. The fact is that the doctrine is adopted by the supreme state leadership.

[Lyubimov] But it has been prepared in the depths of the Defense Ministry.

[Kokoshin] Right, as far as our part of the work is concerned, then it has been done. And it has been embodied in specific operational plans, in the new deployment and construction of the armed forces, in changes in the structure of the armed forces.

[Lyubimov] There is an interesting point there that some kind of small, regional defense ministries will be created. How's this going to happen?

[Kokoshin] Well, I think that this is a misinterpretation. The fact is that we simply need to really raise the responsibility of commanders in certain circles and in certain areas. And with the meagre resources which we have for defense now and which have to be utilized more effectively, we need a more perfect command structure for this.

[Lyubimov] Can it be said that the reduction of the army to one million, as was announced, is being carried out?

[Kokoshin] One and a half million.

[Lyubimov] About one and a half million?

[Kokoshin] Yes, one and a half million.

[Lyubimov] When will there be one and half million men?

[Kokoshin] According to the law, by 1995.

[Lyubimov] And second, can it be said that there is a decentralization of command taking place in the armed forces?

[Kokoshin] I wouldn't put it that way. An optimization of the command of the armed forces is taking place, at all levels and in all dimensions. The fact is that in a number of cases it is necessary to genuinely and actually raise the degree of centralization, since on the whole the mechanism has gone to pieces and is not functioning, and not just in the period of the collapse of the Soviet Union, but before that a whole series of elements of centralization no longer met contemporary requirements. In a number of cases it really is necessary to entrust district and army commanders with more responsibility. The same applies to defense orders.

[Lyubimov] Yes, excuse me, I'm interrupting, so this is the scheme now - the general staff will be the Defense Ministry, that's how I've understood it, and the Defense Ministry will be a consultative, civilian institution which will work on the defense industry, in the sense of orders. Right?

[Kokoshin] You know, I think that's a fairly free interpretation. All the functions of the Defense Ministry and the general staff, as a component part of the Defense Ministry, are clearly defined by the law on defense and determined by appropriate decisions by the president as the supreme commander-in-chief. Therefore we are now in a transitional period, and our Defense Ministry is a mixture, I would say, of civilians and the military, with a very large proportion from the military. The defense minister is a soldier, Army General Grachev. For the first time a civilian has appeared - that's me. And I believe that on the whole the correct solution for this period has been found. The centuries- old tradition of the command of the military department must not be broken. Therefore we really do have a transitional period structure.

But even for this transitional period the functions of the Defense Ministry and the general staff have been defined very clearly for the first time by the law on defense. Of course the general staff is, first and foremost, for commanding troops, operational combat training, but the Defense Ministry also has a fair amount of functions relating to the vital activities of troops, namely field provisions, for example, cadres.

But of course the major question which has to be worked on, by me in particular for example, is the question of providing the armed forces with the necessary weaponry and military equipment, the formation and implementation of long-term weapons programs, and work with industry with the participation of a whole series of other state departments. [passage omitted]

[Lyubimov] Andrey Afanasyevich, to what extent does this doctrine take into account the existence of the CIS or the unified armed forces? I understand that there are three stages, and that by the year 2000 you will announce to us that we have a top- rate army, a professional army, and everything's fine. Right? To what extent will there be taken into account - well, I mean, I understand that there will be provisos, but it is important: will the existence of the cis be taken into account?

[Kokoshin] Of course, one of the cornerstones for ensuring Russia's security are relations with our allies. We have the CIS and the treaty on collective security, which unfortunately not all CIS states have joined. but apart from this we are also developing bilateral relations with many CIS members. So these areas, and cooperation purely in the military sphere and cooperation in the defense industry sphere, since our economies are very closely interconnected and the defense enterprises of, say, Russia and Ukraine, Russia and Kazakhstan, and Russia and Belarus, first and foremost, are closely connected - these aspects, of course, have been reflected in the proposals for the military doctrine which was developed by us in the Defense Ministry. And on the whole the CIS, and the republics of the former USSR which are not part of the CIS, these territories, zones, they are for us top priority from the point of view of ensuring Russia's security.

[Lyubimov] But if the members of the unifed armed forces or the members of the treaty on collective security gradually begin to join NATO, maybe in five or seven years, how will you regulate relations with them?

[Blagovolin] Let them join.

[Kokoshin] I have a somewhat different point of view on this question. I believe that it is premature to raise the question of joining NATO. I think that as a matter of fact the creation of the security structure on the territory of the former Soviet Union which I talked about is our main input to universal collective security in Europe and Eurasia. Of course, normal, constructive relations need to be built between our collective security system - of which Russia, the treaty on collective security, the CIS, and bilateral relations with all former Soviet Union states which want to cooperate with us on a normal basis of equal rights without exception are the center—and that collective security system which NATO has, plus of course the CSCE.

Then there is also the Western European Union. So there exists a multi-purpose coordination system in which the security system is being formed.

[Lyubimov] But let's say a country attacks Kaliningrad oblast. A hypothetical situation. To what extent does the military doctrine take into account such a development of events, and how would the sending of troops there be controlled? How would it be in general—Belarus is in the way ...

[Kokoshin] You are encroaching on specific operational plans.

[Lyubimov] The doctrine isn't concerned with such things?

[Kokoshin] It is. But in the first place, we need to demystify the concept of the doctrine somewhat. The traditional Russian belief in some kind of all-encompassing document within the framework of which everything is registered is too strong. There has never been such a document in either the history of the Russian empire or the history of the Soviet Union. There have been many attempts to write a single military doctrine. There were discussions, all sorts of proposals and assumptions were made.

For example, one of our lord emperors said: End this discussion, the doctrine is what I have said. So we do not need to write into the doctrine everything which relates to specific operational plans. Of course for every specific zone we have certain strategic directions, they are precisely written for the Russian army, we have our own plans, and there are, accordingly, versions for using forces in these areas which envisage the cooperation of the states concerned, or their neutrality, or the lack of cooperation, or the version of events when we can rely only on ourselves. That's how I can reply. [Lyubimov] Fine, of course, these are military secrets. But now this is a question which I think is a very painful one. Peace-keeping forces - how will their status be regulated in the next few years, how will they exist, and so on?

[Kokoshin] Well, firstly, the use of peace-keeping forces is always an international action.

[Lyubimov] Depending on how it works out. I understand that it is different according to the situation.

[Kokoshin] No, in all situations our peace-keeping forces are brought into action not by a unilateral decision by Russia, but every time it is the result of multi-lateral agreements.

[Lyubimov] I don't mean diplomacy, I mean actual participation.

[Kokoshin] Well, participation, that's worse. You understand, we would, for example, prefer a Ukrainian battalion to be in Moldova, and Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzian units to be in Tajikistan; a Kyrgyzstan battalion was there but then left. So of course one of the most important practical tasks is the implementation of the collective security treaty and genuine collective actions in establishing peace and separating the parties involved. [passage omitted]

[Kokoshin] We would, of course, prefer in each of these hot spots for the forces from the states which have signed the appropriate decisions to act alongside us. unfortunately this has not proved possible so far. Maybe the diplomats have not been sufficiently active here.

[Lyubimov] Thank you very much, Andrey Afanasyevich, for participating in our program. I hope that at least the existence of the doctrine now allows us to refer to it and criticise it, and use it to try to resolve the strategic military questions which arise here from time to time.

Details of Voskhod '93 Air Exercises Reported

PM2105140793 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 May 93 p 1

[Report by Colonel Aleksandr Novikov, senior navigator at the Air Force Main Staff Central Command Post, and Colonel Aleksandr Andryushkov: "'Voskhod '93': Command Post Is Brain Center of Exercise"]

[Text] KRASNAYA ZVEZDA reported on Air Force aircraft maneuvers from the European part of Russia to the Far East in its previous issue. In terms of the complexity of the organization and execution of flights and the combat work done at test ranges in the Amur region the exercise being staged by the Air Force Main Staff has no counterpart in the past decade, and this is the first time that front-line bombers have been employed in such maneuvers. Command post specialists have had an exceptionally heavy workload. "Voskhod '93" has been a severe test of their combat readiness and skills.

Colonel General of Aviation Petr Deynekin, commander in chief of the Russian Federation Air Force, was in overall charge of the exercise. He was constantly aboard an Il-62 in battle formations of fighters and front-line bombers, monitoring in-flight refueling and bombing runs at the test ranges.

Colonel General of Aviation Anatoliy Malyukov, chief of the Air Force Main Staff, was in charge of coordinating the staffs during the exercise. The Air Force Main Staff Central Command Post Operations Group headed by Major General of Aviation Aleksandr Slukhay was placed under his command. The main command and control feature was to operationally link together [okhvatit] the actions of staffs, command posts, and airfields and to constantly monitor the air situation over a huge distance without any "snafus." The maneuvers covered a route of around 8,000 km. The coordination and degree of mutual understanding shown were high.

One of the research programs for the tactical flying exercises involved verifying the ability of aircraft to engage in combat straightaway after long maneuvers.

The climatic conditions around the test ranges used in the exercises were very difficult. A major storm system had developed in the Far East. Cloud cover kept the crews of Su-24M front-line bombers on the ground. The crew and specialists aboard the A-50 long-range radar early-warning command and control aircraft coped effectively with their missions. Their data were transmitted by satellite link to the Central Command Post and other exercise command and control organs.

Crews carried out ultralow-level bombing runs after visual target search and acquisition. The crews of Majors Yuriy Barkalov and Salavat Abdrakhimov worked with great precision.

The main thing is that all security measures were observed and there were no emergencies or serious deficiencies with the hardware.

At 1700 hours on 19 May all the aircraft touched down safely at their home airfields.

'Progress M-18' Space Cargo Vessel Launched 22 May

LD2205095093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0911 GMT 22 May 93

[Text] Moscow, 22 May (ITAR-TASS)—In accordance with the program for the further work of the Mir scientific research complex, today at 1042 a Progress M-18 automatic cargo vessel was launched. This has been reported by the Flight Control Center.

The purpose of the vessel's launch is to deliver expendable materials and various cargo to the manned Mir complex .

The Progress M-18 vessel has been put into orbit with the following parameters:

Maximum distance from the surface of the Earth—258km.

Minimum distance from the surface of the Earth—194km.

Period of rotation—88.7 minutes

Inclination—51.6 degrees.

According to the telemetric information the onboard systems of the automatic cargo vessel are working normally.

Plesetsk Launches New Satellite 21 May

LD2105211893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2026 GMT 21 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS]

[Text] Moscow May 22 TASS—A Resurs-F-2 artificial earth satellite was launched on Friday [21 May] by the Soyuz rocket booster from the Plesetsk launching grounds.

The satellite carries equipment for multi-zone and spector-zone photography to continue the research of earth natural resources in the interests of various economic branches, solution of ecological tasks and international cooperation.

The satellite was put into orbit with the following parameters:

—The initial period of rotation of 88.9 minutes;

—The maximum distance from the earth surface (in the apogee) of 285 kilometers;

—The minimum distance from the earth surface (in the perigee) of 194 kilometers;

—The inclination of the orbit of 82.6 degrees.

The on-board equipment is functioning normally.

Supreme Soviet

Abdulatipov Article on Breaking Constitution Impasse

MK2205120093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 May 93 p 1

[Article by Ramazan Abdulatipov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities, published under the "Position-2" rubric: "It is Impossible To 'Push Through' the Constitution Bypassing Congress. On Postreferendum Situation in Russia"]

[Text] Although experienced jurists want us to believe that the April referendum in itself had no legal and constitutional effects, talk about this continues. Up to the present not only publicly but also "clandestinely," forecasts of actions by political forces arising from its

45

results, ascribed first to one side, then the other, are being discussed and disseminated. In this situation it is difficult to resist the temptation to state one's own opinion on this matter.

In our opinion, if one can talk about any more or less certain results of the referendum at all, there are primarily two:

—the referendum has registered and initiated a split in Russian society, in fact a dual split—one civil and one republican-regional. Moreover, the conduct of the referendum has aggravated the deepening of that split;

—the referendum has not brought any tangible victory, nor has it been a devastating defeat for anyone. At best the president and the radical democrats can claim credit for winning the battle. But this is far from winning the whole war. The approximate equality of the conflicting sides remains, and with it, a conflict-prone dual power situation. The 36 percent of the electorate who did not turn up at the referendum must not be ignored. They had a chance to influence the situation but did not want to use it. They can be referred to neither as the supporters nor the opponents of the president and the parliament. But this is a component part of the populace, those Russian people that cannot be arrogantly discarded when the referendum results are summed up. Especially when claims are being made that they have allegedly confirmed nationwide and unqualified support for the president and his course and some kind of "constitution-drafting" rights of the president, showing the illegitimacy of the deputy corps, and so forth. It is hardly appropriate to talk about all this, having scored approximately 35 percent of the total electorate vote on the first and the second questions, respectively.

The main reason why the executive branch has, after all, won the battle that will go down in history as the April referendum is also obvious. It won not because it proved to be very strong and authoritative, but because a choice between the bad and what was presented as still worse was imposed on the people of Russia, using arguments based on completely amoral stereotypes—about the ethnic origin of the leaders, for instance; the fact that the front-line shock unit from parliament was not the center but the "intransigent" opposition allowed the pro-presidential circles to dub their opponents as restorationists, revanchists dreaming about returning to the system and order that the people—and this cannot but be recognized—rejected, at least at the present historical stage.

Therefore, contrary to numerous predictions, the referendum has not decided anything in the strategic sense. Meanwhile the public atmosphere has heated up. Political confrontation began to deepen and proliferate, which was vividly demonstrated by the bloody events on 1 May in Moscow. The main danger of that course of events, against the repetition of which we are not guaranteed, is that it breeds in society a mood of depression, mistrust in the ability of the authorities to find a peaceful way out of the crisis, based on law; it encourages people to expect a coup d'etat, and to believe in the "legitimacy" of anticonstitutional methods being applied. The branches of government are also displaying a trend in this direction. The greatest beneficiaries in this situation are the structures of crime and corruption.

There are influential forces in the country that are spreading the belief that the referendum has left no hopes for reaching a compromise between the present executive and legislative branches. In this situation it is the duty of all healthy forces that are concerned about their motherland to look for a way out of the political deadlock, adhering to the principles of constitutionality and law and order.

What could be the basic political guidelines for such a movement?

The first of them is undoubtedly the adoption of a new constitution of the Russian Federation. I do not believe that in spite of all the tough-worded statements by his associates, the president himself will decide to go as far as to stage a coup d'etat in the form of direct presidential rule, dissolution of Congress, and limitation of the powers of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet (the 20 March 1993 model). At any rate, he cannot fail to see that the referendum results do not guarantee a favorable outcome of such an action. Therefore the political struggle will concentrate around the content and procedures for the adoption of the new constitution.

It is perfectly obvious that it is hard—if it is at all possible—to "get it through" in circumvention of the Congress. Moreover, the attempts to do this via the Federation Council, a constitutional assembly, elected no one knows how and by whom, and so forth, could turn out to be a Pyrrhic victory for the president since the new constitution would bear the stamp of dubious legitimacy, and given a certain course of events (for instance, further worsening of the economic situation, political instability) the opposition could play that card. As Russia's number one political figure, Yeltsin cannot fail to see this.

It seems that with a certain flexibility of the Supreme Soviet and the Congress the struggle over the constitution, or rather constitutions, opens up opportunities for reasonable compromises, without which it is impossible to be a normal and not a lumpenized politician, who has nothing to lose but his chains....

Here are a few ideas that could, it seems to me, serve as a basis for fruitful discussion. I stress: discussion and joint work, and not "struggle to a victorious end:"

1. On no account allow a "war of constitutions;" the authorities must eventually agree on a single coordinated text of the constitution by making compromises during the preparation of this text via the conference.

2. The constitution shall be adopted not by the Congress, not by the constitutional assembly, and so forth, but by referendum. This could be the sole method of ensuring its legitimacy in the present situation. The referendum itself could be held by individual federation components, that is to say, a period should be scheduled, say, from 1 November to 31 December 1993, within which the republics, krays and oblasts, Moscow and St. Petersburg, and the autonomies would themselves determine a suitable time frame for holding the referendum on their territory. Importantly, in a federative, multiethnic state it is not enough to proceed only from the number of voters. It would be essential to make sure that no less than ⅔ of the Russian Federation's components approve the constitution at the referendum, maybe even ⅔ of each type of component (republics, krays and oblasts, and also autonomies). Especially given that in the course of the discussion of the neo- presidential draft in the regions attempts are again being made, absolutely illegitimately, to win over supporters by setting the krays, oblasts, and republics against each other. These are very dangerous ideas. After all, the equality of the components has essentially been ensured in the Federation Treaty.

Another aspect, another political guideline, is early presidential and parliamentary elections. It has already been mentioned that there can be no question about a strong, really nationwide support for Yeltsin. Moreover, if the participants in the referendum are considered to be the politically active part of the population, then 51 percent of them have spoken in favor of early presidential elections, and 65 percent in favor of early deputy elections. In other words, the general mood is for new elections, and this mood should not be ignored either by the people's deputies or by the president. Today the politicians' main ability, main will could manifest itself as a will for compromise, for concord. If there is no such will, no such abilities, then these people should resign in the interests of the motherland. Especially since early presidential and parliamentary elections following the adoption of the new constitution, and on its basis, would also become an objective necessity.

And one final point. The adoption of the new constitution, the holding of early elections, and the creation of new structures would take up at least nine to 10 months. During this period the country must live and work ensuring its security against the conflict between the authorities, against confrontation between the radical parties and forces. Hence our third conclusion: An agreement (a constitutional law) between the president and the parliament is necessary on mechanisms for running the country during the transition period. It should be based on the principle of federalism, constitutionality, and the division of powers. It might even be possible to think about the expediency of dissolving the congress for the transition period, motivating this by the supreme interests of "achieving political stability and social accord," introducing changes into the constitution to the effect that the president is head of state.

In principle, another strategy is also possible, in which a pact on the transition period would include an accord on adopting a law defining the structure and basic functions of a future parliament, as well as the adoption of a law on elections. The new constitution itself would be fully adopted after the elections, by a new parliament.

Of course—I would like to reiterate—the ideas and proposals expressed here are not dogmas, not the "ultimate truth." They are starting points for a discussion whose results should not be the destruction of a particular state structure, but the consolidation of a great state—the Russian Federation. Not the dissipation but the mustering of all of its healthy forces.

Abdulatipov Interviewed on Draft Constitutions

LD2205103093 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1445 GMT 21 May 93

[Interview with Ramazan Abdulatipov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities, by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given; from the "Parliamentary Hour" program—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Correspondent] Is it right to think that, as some media sources allege, there has occurred a split in the parliament? Or is a split in parliament, generally speaking, something normal and inherent in parliament as a political institution?

[Abdulatipov] I am not at all interested in the psychology of people who pretend to have pluralistic and democratic attitudes on the one hand, yet on the other, as soon as someone in the Supreme Soviet leadership or any leader, or even any deputy, says a word which does not suit them, immediately talk of a split, the end of everything, and make a big noise about it. It should be a natural phenomenon that different people interpret the situation differently. I, for one, can see no split in this particular case. [passage omitted]

I said at the Supreme Soviet that the president is not simply a piece of objective reality which we experience through our perceptions but is really a lawful president, and that if he thinks it necessary to table another draft we should not ignore it and should make arrangements to discuss it in different ways, so we can then present a single draft to the citizens of Russia and generally to the complex state formation of the Russian Federation.

[Correspondent] Why do you think one draft is better than two?

[Abdulatipov] I think the referendum has in fact clearly denoted and demonstrated to us a split in society. This split will be aggravated if we submit two drafts. In reality, in popular thinking this will be interpreted not as two drafts but as two platforms of two parties, the presidential and the parliamentary parties. Those will be two platforms in a civil conflict and, possibly, a civil war, which of course should be prevented at all costs. [passage omitted]

If we take the position of simply criticizing one of the drafts and ignoring other versions, the whole process may be taken out of control of parliament altogether. [passage omitted]

(?One draft speaks of) a treaty on delineation of powers between the Russian Federation and the republics, krays, and oblasts, making it seem that the Russian Federation is on the one side and the krays, oblasts, and republics on the other. This variant is, in fact, a recipe for the disintegration of the Russian Federation through a process of concluding horizontal treaties.

The Federation Treaty is built on a completely different approach. This methodological and conceptual mistake is, in fact, destroying the spirit and content of the federal treaty itself. So, we should return to these questions once again and try to project the real content of the Federation Treaty. We should not let the Federation Treaty become a hostage to political confrontation. Its task is to facilitate the normal development of our Federation.

Abdulatipov Comments on Caucasus, General Situation

LD2105123493 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1445 GMT 20 May 93

[Interview with Ramazan Abdulatipov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities, by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given; from the "RTV-Parliament" program—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Unidentified correspondent] The North Caucasus is deservedly considered as Russia's most unstable region. [passage omitted] However, agreements signed since the beginning of the year have remained mostly on paper. They have not been implemented in practice. Namely this—to trigger the mechanism of practical implementation of the adopted resolutions—was the goal of Russian Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin's visit to the republics of North Caucasus. Ramazan Gadzhimuradovich, what was achieved in the course of this visit? What practical effects will it have for the economy, for regional integration, for the hot spots of the North Caucasian region?

[Abdulatipov] First, having listened to the chairman of the government, we managed to point out the meaning and goal of the current national policy of the Russian state. It is the account, reconciliation, and implementation of the interests already agreed on at all levels. The federal authorities cannot at present thrust any models on the republics, krays, and oblasts of the Russian Federation. The major burden for finding agreement on these interests should be transferred to the regions and republics.

Moreover, it was shown for the first time during Viktor Stepanovich Chernomyrdin's visit, that the agreements, already reached on the spot by the conflicting parties themselves, should be implemented. The whole package of measures aimed at the implementation of the essential economic, social, and cultural programs, and finding a way out of the situation have been virtually approved by the chairman of the government. Also confirmed were the necessity of their implementation and the guarantees of the government for their implementation.

I believe that it will be a positive continuation of the visit if the republics of North Caucasus, and in the given case first of all the peoples involved in this tragedy—I mean the Ingush and the Ossetian peoples—and their leaders in due time move over to the specific economic, social, and cultural problems which the government chairman has pointed out.

I reckon that the participation of the government chairman in the meeting of the coordinating committee of North Caucasus has assisted in beginning the implementation of the economic opportunities and integration of the North Caucasian region. All that preparatory work carried out previously in Pyatigorsk, in Kislovodsk, at the meetings of the roundtable and the coordinating council of North Caucasus, has today received economic and material support from the Russian Government.

Why has the question of returning refugees to the places where they lived before the conflict become a stumbling block? This is one of the most sore questions; the problem of refugees today has arisen not only because of the tragedy between Ingushetia and Ossetia. It began somewhat earlier when refugees left Chechnya, when they left the internal regions of Georgia, and when they left South Ossetia. Thus, even before this conflict there was a whole mass of refugees in Prigorodnyy rayon. Today, as is shown by data supplied by the Ingush side, over 60,000 refugees from Prigorodnyy rayon are in effect living in Nazran. This is a multi-layered problem, and in Kislovodsk, the subject of the talks, the main question, was the return of refugees, the handing over of hostages, the burial of bodies, and so on. These are very sore questions.

I consider that the protocol that has been signed by the North Caucasus Coordinating Council will facilitate the rapid implementation of these problems, which are very sore ones, but at the same time they are problems which must be resolved. The fact that the leadership of North Ossetia has refrained from signing the protocol gives me great cause for concern, because in effect we did not permit a single point on that question which would affect the interests, or which would infringe the interests, let us put it more exactly, of the Ossetian side.

But one question which was the subject of discussion during the conference was the security of citizens who return to their domiciles. This question was raised by the North Ossetian leadership earlier, so we charged the Ministry of Security, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the Procuracy of the Russian Federation to ensure the security of people who return to their domiciles. I would like to note that it is not a question of a mass return of everyone in one day. It is a question of a stage by stage resolution of this question.

First, there needs to be agreement on places where people live in compact groups, and then, gradually overcoming this stressful situation, to move on to resolving this problem.

I would like once again to say to the Ingush brothers and Ossetian brothers—I spoke about this back in 1990, by the way—that there is no way of resolving this problem by force of arms or violence. There is only one way out, and that is to sit down at the conference table, patiently reach agreement, and fulfil those agreements which have already been achieved. There is no other way to get out of this situation.

The visit by the Russian premier showed that the federal organs of power are prepared to give material and technical aid, as well as financial aid, in order to get these fraternal peoples out of this tragedy as soon as possible.

Abdulatipov Advances Case for State's 'Evolution'

PM2105104693 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 May 93 First Edition p 2

[Article by Ramazan Abdulatipov: "We Are All Temporary, But the State Is Built To Last Centuries"]

[Text] With the signing of the Federation Treaty, Russia formalized its politico-legal status as a federal state. But in fact many years must still pass before the Federation can begin to function properly. We must follow the evolutionary path—not breaking and destroying, but creating anew, perfecting an entire system of state and interethnic relations. A system of democratically coordinated life together for the peoples, territories, and citizens of Russia—that is the ideal posed by Russia's state policy. Political situations in Russian society must be measured against this ideal.

This applies in particular to the constitutional question. The autonomy of territories, the freedom of peoples and individuals, the integrity of the state—those are the components of the principle of federalism. The mechanism for implementing the Federation Treaty must guarantee the operation of these norms within society. Furthermore, their mere proclamation, even their constitutional proclamation, is not enough. Society must progress toward this goal, it must mature, it must establish at least the initial traditions of federalism.

At the moment everyone is making declarations of love for the Federation Treaty, with the aim of courting the territories, republics, and peoples. But its incorporation in the different versions of the Constitution is a purely formal act for the drafters on both sides, because the actual concepts, the entire content, of the different versions of the Constitution that are being offered to society are to a greater or lesser degree in conflict with the concept of the Federation Treaty. A political struggle is under way, and the Federation Treaty is being used purely as a lever for winning regions and national entities over to your side.

Article 4 of the Shakhray-Alekseyev draft declares that the demarcation of objects of jurisdiction and powers is carried out "between the Russian Federation and the republics, krays, oblasts, federal-status cities, autonomous oblasts, and autonomous okrugs," which is conceptually at odds with the letter and spirit of the Federation Treaty.

This approach means that the Russian Federation exists independently of the republics, krays, oblasts, and autonomous entities. The loosening of the Federation by means of horizontal treaties is envisaged. Yet in the Federation Treaty the Russian Federation consists of its components, and the demarcation of powers takes place between the Russian Federation's federal organs of power and the organs of power of the sovereign republics, krays, and oblasts, the cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg, the autonomous oblast, and autonomous okrugs within the Russian Federation.

This also presupposes fundamentally different approaches to enshrining the Federation Treaty in the Constitution. Because, as is shown subsequently by Articles 61, 62, 67, 99, and others are conceptually at variance with the Federation Treaty. [sentence as published] In fact, only denunciations of the Federation Treaty are overlooked.

The Constitutional Commission's version tries in effect, by means of various devices, to destroy national-state formations and subsume them within other components, transferring to the latter a status of statehood, so to speak. The Alekseyev-Shakhray draft, making provision for a veiled form of authoritarian power, fails to take into account that this is possible, as a rule, only in the conditions of a unitary state.

S. Shakhray is fond of repeating that it is not the president, but the people who are becoming the monarch. In that case, the question is: Which people, exactly? And do Russia's many peoples want a monarch? Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin does not need this, either: What will he and his drafting team do, if, under this new Constitution, their opponents come to power? Hold a demonstration? Set about the separation of powers once again?

We need a democratic, federal Russia. I do not want to reject anything out of hand. But there are many questions, and what is needed is not devastating propaganda, but a scrupulous expert report by conscientious specialists.

From the very first words of the draft constitutions it is clear that they do not take the principle of federalism into account at all. Maybe that is why their authors avoid talking about the principle of federalism—and thus everyone is free to interpret the "organization of a federal state" in his own way.

At the same time the definition of the principle of federalism involves something objective, independent of the will of the authors of the drafts. As lawyers they are aware of that, and that is why they create the external appearance of a federal state, while concealing within it a unitary-autocratic substance.

Let us suppose that from love of our common Fatherland and devotion to the ideas of unity and integrity, we can agree to this way of looking at the matter. But the very structure of the state envisaged in the Shakhray-Alekseyev draft corresponds at best to the norms and traditions of the early 20th century.

If the ideals and norms of a leader-driven [vozhdistskoy] democracy are enshrined in the Constitution, while the selfsame structure also contains elements of modern democracy, then given the federal nature of our state, this will create a situation of "perpetual" conflicts. And this has nothing to do with the personality of the president, because any such statement is interpreted as antipresidential. Let us forget about Yeltsin, Khasbulatov, and the rest: We are all temporary. But the state, the state system, have to be built to last for centuries. What we need is an agreed version of the constitution of a federal state.

The provisions of the draft constitutions under discussion should be more specific and should make provision for mechanisms and levers which would prevent instability and conflict in federal relations and would stop various political authorities—at the center and in the regions—from denying the democratic and federal nature of the Russian state.

From the adoption of the Declaration of Sovereignty to the breakup of the Union, all of us have had revolutionary haste and revolutionary radicalism imposed on us. And this in turn prompts unconstitutional actions, which is intolerable. Variant drafts and their discussion and coordination are perfectly possible. And here it is necessary to seek compromises, perhaps through a consultative constitutional conference. But the adoption of the Constitution must be constitutional, or else the fate of the Fundamental Law that is adopted will be the same.

I wish to quote the words of the researcher A. Anisimov, who said recently: "Reforms implemented in Russia by 'ardent Westernizers' have always been carried out according to one and the same formula: a forced pace, and, to that end, coercion, provoking the resistance of the masses. They tried to suppress the masses through terror, hence the 'strengthening of power.' Then this is what happened: The 'strengthened power' got out of the reformers' control, and then 'unpredictable consequences'—as people like to say nowadays—began. As a result of this cycle, the cause of the people's freedom in Russia has always suffered severely, but also the reformers never succeeded in achieving their aims entirely. Conversely, a process of gradual development has always shown the most gratifying results."

These not only logical, but historical relationships of dependence must be taken into account. Russia has suffered repeatedly as a result of revolutions. It has yearned for an evolutionary path of development. Let us be wiser, let us not allow the constitutional process to fall victim to revolutionary radicalism. That is what I would like to remind people of—especially those people who want to give us the benefit of new constitutions.

Russia is one. Russia is the land of all Russians [Rossiyan], irrespective of ethnic and political differences. And that means that the Constitution must also be one, agreed with everyone and adopted by everyone.

Khasbulatov Deflects Discussion on Alternative Draft

PM2105135693 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 21 May 93 p 1

[Lyubov Tsukanova report: "Revolt Crushed? So Problems Remain"]

[Text] The subject of the adoption of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet decree "On the Procedure for Taking Into Account the Proposals of Components of the Russian Federation and Agreeing the Draft of the New Russian Federation Constitution," which was started a week ago, underwent further development at a joint session of the chambers yesterday. As is known, no decision was adopted last Friday: The alternative version proposed by Nikolay Ryabov, which virtually proposes legitimizing the Constitutional Conference to be convened by the president 5 June, sowed confusion in the minds of Supreme Soviet members, and the draft decree prepared by the Constitutional Commission was not adopted even as a basis. Let us recall that the "official" document proposes that the components of the federation discuss only the draft of the Fundamental Law prepared by the Constitutional Commission and that all additional work on it be concentrated there too. The "Ryabov" draft of the decree provides for a discussion of the two drafts of the constitution and for the formation of a joint conference (president, Supreme Soviet, components of the federation, Constitutional Commission) and lays down the procedure for forming it, which is close to the one proposed by the president. The tasks of the conference are defined: to prepare a unified draft of the constitution, to agree it, to organize a nationwide discussion, and to formulate proposals on the procedure for adopting the new Fundamental Law.

At yesterday's session Ruslan Khasbulatov, in the chair, used a firm hand to deflect all the deputies' attempts to discuss the alternative draft. We do not have two versions of the constitution, he said. There is the one adopted by the Constitutional Commission, and all the rest can be regarded only as amendments and additions to it. As a result, the draft decree drawn up by Rumyantsev's commission was voted the basis. It cannot be ruled out that the deputies' frame of mind was influenced by the closed session of the Soviet of the Republic, held the previous day, and by the development of the tactic of a "quiet" search, at the level of amendments, for rapprochement with the president's position, rather than a search based on alternatives and therefore involving a fuss. Oleg Rumyantsev, who spoke during the discussion of the question, outlined the action program of the working commission to finalize the draft decree. The chief aspect here, Rumyantsev said, is political: Will the Supreme Soviet agree to the Constitutional Conference having the right to exist? In any case, in Rumyantsev's opinion, the Constitutional Conference must be only of a consultative nature, and it can only make recommendations to the Congress and must not aspire to constituent powers.

Khasbulatov Addresses 30,000 in Telephone Conference

PM2105141393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 May 93 First Edition p 2

[Aleksey Vorobyev report: "Briefing: Take Citizens' Opinion into Account"]

[Text] At a briefing at the Supreme Soviet press center 19 May Yu. Marechenkov, head of the press service, talked about the telephone conference held that morning by R. Khasbulatov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet, and his deputy V. Agafonov with leaders of legislative organs at all levels. There were 2,018 radio stations plugged in to the conference and all the chairmen of the Supreme Soviets of the Russian republics plus chairmen of oblast, kray, rayon, and even settlement soviets took part. The theme of the conference was the preparation of the new Russian Constitution.

In his opening address, Ruslan Khasbulatov said that at the present moment the main concern facing the country is to analyze the course of the economic reform, to further improve it, and to oprganize it better because the prosperity of the country's population depends on the economic state of the regions. As for the constitutional process, nowhere in the world, not even in countries with dictatorial regimes, has the executive taken on the task of organizing the adoption of the Constitution; this has always been the prerogative of the representative power. Thus with regard to the mechanism for discussing and adopting the draft constitution one can speak only about the procedures envisaged by the existing fundamental law. Here, of course, it is necessary to extract all the valuable ideas and formulas from both the versions that have been presented and to combine and improve on them so that the country does not wind up in the disastrous situation of having two constitutions existing in parallel.

Representatives of Udmurtia, Bashkortostan, Yakutia, Komi, Omsk, Ust-Ordynsk, Rostov, Barnaul, Kurgan, and Blagoveshchensk took an active part in the discussion and furthermore, according to the testimony of press service chief Yu. Marechenkov, not just the heads of soviets but also the heads of local administrations were virtually unanimous in not supporting the president's version of the Constitution, which contains many contradictions and inconsistencies. The opinion was expressed that the draft produced by the Constitutional Commission should be used as a basis for discussion. Such a firm and unambiguous viewpoint even surprised the parliamentary leaders somewhat—after all, there has never been such a wide audience for these conferences before: More than 30,000 people took part. Each one had his own viewpoint, but it was obvious to all that there is no alternative to the lawful constitutional process.

During the conference it was decided to set up a group of authorized representatives from each region, who in the future would continue work on the draft in the Russian Supreme Soviet itself; in other words, this is the pattern that was used during the discussion and adoption of the Federation Treaty.

Despite the frenzied haste of the president's team in trying to push through the latter's version of the new Constitution, R. Khasbulatov noted in turn that undue haste here could cause harm and affect the quality of this important document. Thus, without excluding the possibility of participation by representatives of the Federation subjects in the conference called by the president for 5 June, the ideal deadline for the adoption of the Constitution could be the fall of this year. More time is needed to ensure that during the discussion account is taken of the opinions and amendments not only of the leaders of the power structures but of all citizens wishing to take part in the constitutional process: After all, this path, and this path alone, will be truly democratic.

The representatives of the regions expressed alarm at the unobjective coverage of the draft new constitution by some of the mass media and their concern at the possibility of a repetition of the one-sided, propagandist campaign which took place on the eve of the referendum.

Parliament Session Not Held for Lack of Quorum

LD2105181093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1620 GMT 21 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow May 21 TASS—Today's evening session of the Russian Parliament did not take place for lack of quorum in one of the chambers—the Soviet of the Nationalities. For this reason the resolution on the work of the Russian Government on mutual settlements in the national economy was not adopted. Neither was discussed the question on an order of considering proposals from the subjects of the federation for a draft of a new Russian Constitution though it was on today's agenda.

In the course of a discussion on a quorum, deputies proposed to apply sanctions to those members of the Supreme Soviet who systematically missed plenary sessions. There were also proposals to shift such sessions to Wednesdays or Thursdays, leaving Fridays for the work in parliamentary committees and commissions. The parliamentarians also spoke about the need to make amendments in the regulations of the Supreme Soviet which could change the rules concerning quorum.

Somewhat unexpected was a speech by Deputy Dmitriy Stepanov. Having expressed solidarity with those who were indignant at undisciplined parliamentarians, he, nevertheless, asserted that "application of sanctions to deputies who did not attend a session, as a matter of fact, will make the opposition absolutely helpless."

Dmitriy Stepanov explained that the "only means left in the hands of the opposition is the creation of a situation of a lack of quorum." There are no other possibilities left for the parliamentary struggle of the opposition, he pointed out.

Yuriy Voronin, deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet, informed parliamentarians that he would send information to the local newspapers about those members of the Supreme Soviet who were absent at today's joint session of the chambers. "Let voters know about this," he said. According to Yuriy Voronin, all the next week will be devoted to the work in parliamentary committees and commissions. The deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet also said that deputies might go to their constituencies and take part in the work of the local soviets.

Supreme Soviet Passes Law on Customs Tariffs

LD2105180393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1552 GMT 21 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yuriy Filippov]

[Text] Moscow May 21 TASS—The Russian standing legislature, the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, passed a law on the custom tariff to form and apply customs tariffs on the territory of the Russian Federation, and levy duties on commodities transferred across the Russian tariff border.

The final version of the law incorporates the text proposed by the president who returned the draft law to the parliament for finalizing after second reading.

The president's remarks referred mainly to the need to make some of the provisions more specific and bring the new law in line with other legislation in force.

Before the vote, the parliament was addressed by the president's representative Valeriy Maksimtsev, deputy chairman of the state customs committee, who stressed that the law must not violate the basic principle of a market economy—the equality of all participants in commodity turnover. The president pointed to this in a number of notes referring to benefits and privileges to separate participants in economic activity indicated in the draft law.

Committee Aide: Parliament Entitled To Discuss Stepankov

PM2105132593 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 20 May 93 p 1

[Interview with Boris Zolotukhin, deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet Legislation Committee, by Vasiliy Ustyuzhanin; place and date not given; under the general headline "The President Has Put on His Parade Tunic. Watch Out, World of Crime?"]

[Text] ...General Prosecutor V. Stepankov has already "blasted away with both barrels" in his book, and seems to think that's all there is to combating crime.

I invited Boris Zolotukhin, deputy chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet Legislation Committee, to comment on this:

[Ustyuzhanin] In connection with the disqualification of the state prosecutors in the State Committee for the State of Emergency [SCSE] trial, the Supreme Court Military Collegium has prepared an appeal to parliament...

[Zolotukhin] I do not think that another Prosecutor's Office should be set up. In the event of this sort of contradiction, the constitutional norm takes priority.

[Ustyuzhanin] Does the Supreme Soviet have any legal grounds for examining the question of relieving the general prosecutor of his duties?

[Zolotukhin] I think that not only the publication of this book, but also the earlier appearance in Germany of video recordings of interrogations connected with the SCSE case could be seen as grounds for the general prosecutor's dismissal. Incidentally, the people responsible for distributing these recordings have never been found. The general prosecutor, in whose department this leak—to put it mildly—occurred, should be relieved of his duties. As far as the publication of his book is concerned, this is primarily a violation of ethical norms, not of his official duties.

But a leader of this rank can be dismissed not just for improperly discharging his official duties, but also for violating professional ethics. The Supreme Soviet therefore has grounds for examining this question.

Parliament Adopts Pension Law for Servicemen's Parents

LD2105094493 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0900 GMT 21 May 93

[Text] The Russian parliament today adopted a law on pensions for parents of servicemen who lost their lives. This category of citizens has a right to pensions on reaching the age of 55 for women and 60 for men, irrespective of whether they were maintained by the deceased servicemen or not. President Yeltsin's amendments on expanding the range of people able to receive pensions on the death of servicemen have been turned down by deputies. The deputies and representatives of the Finance Ministry justified their decision by the fact that a decision of this kind would require a substantial increase in expenditure to implement the law, whereas the president failed to define the sources that would cover this expenditure.

Supreme Soviet Allows Travkin To Retire

LD2105113193 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 0800 GMT 21 May 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] A joint sitting of the chambers of the Russian parliament has begun in Moscow.

[Marina Vasilyeva] Today parliament considered Nikolay Travkin's application, asking the Supreme Soviet to decide on the early divestment of his powers as a people's deputy of Russia, since he thinks, the electors expressed no confidence in the deputy at the 25 April referendum.

[Deputy Gleb Yakunin] In principle, it is Travkin's right to withdraw, but one must be honest and explain it by saying that he opposed the president and the reform policy that the president is conducting.

[First unidentified deputy] It seems to me that we must not embark on a disastrous road by encouraging the populist political ambitions of certain political leaders, and we must recognize that the reason is totally unconvincing.

[Second unidentified deputy] I think that this is simply an indication that he does not want to work in the Supreme Soviet in the current situation or at the Congress. It is perhaps on those grounds that a decision should be made today on the divestment of his powers, but not on the grounds that esteemed Nikolay Ilyich is himself putting forward.

[Third unidentified deputy] One cannot use the resources of the Supreme Soviet to try to convince a person that he must carry out such honorable duties beyond his powers.

[Announcer] After a brief, but stormy, discussion, the Supreme Soviet decided to divest Nikolay Travkin of his powers as a People's Deputy of the Russian Federation before his term was up.

Then the deputies turned to legislative work. The law on pension provision for the parents of dead servicemen who had been performing military service on call-up was reconsidered and adopted. Today too, Parliament intends to discuss two more draft laws returned to the Supreme Soviet by the president for reconsideration—on customs duty, and on amendments and additions to the Russian Federation law on the fundamentals of the taxation system.

Regional Affairs

Ingush 'National Extremists' Declare 'Holy War' on Russia

LD2205110293 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1000 GMT 22 May 93

[Text] A statement by the press secretary of the Ingush Republic president has arrived in our editorial office. It says:

The organizing committee of the Second Congress of the Ossetian people has made public a letter, addressed to the leaders of the Russian Federation and also to Galazov, chairman of the North Ossetian Supreme Soviet, Aushev, president of the Ingush Republic, and Shatalin, head of the provisional administration on the territory of North Ossetia and Ingushetia. The letter claims, in particular, that powerful and well organized forces exist in Ingushetia, and that these forces have shifted from direct armed operations to the tactic of widespread subversion and extermination in their methods of waging the war against North Ossetia.

In essence, the Ingush national extremists have declared the Ghazawat—a holy war—against Ossetia and Russia, says the letter.

The organizing committee of the Congress demands that a reliably protected border zone be immediately set up between Ossetia and Ingushetia, and that issues of coexistence among the Ingush and Ossetian people be removed from the agenda. Otherwise, says the letter, the organizing committee reserves the right to arouse its people to an armed struggle, the consequences of which are unpredictable.

Magomed Archakov, press secretary of the president of the Ingush Republic, termed this letter provocative and states that everything that is set out within it is blatant lies aimed at escalating tension in the region. Ingushetia, says his statement, is neither ready for, nor is it preparing any hostile operations against Ossetia, and firmly adheres to the principles of resolving controversial issues peaceably. The Ingush people yet again confirm their desire to live in peace and harmony with all peoples of the North Caucasus and Russia.

Chechnya Plans To Recruit Its Own Army

LD2105165293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1543 GMT 21 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sharip Asuyev]

[Text] Groznyy, May 21 TASS—The Chechen popular trust government led by Yaragi Mamodayev has decided to muster a professional army of its own.

As is known, this government was formed by the Chechen parliament at the initiative of the major political parties and movements of the republic.

However, President Jokhar Dudayev does not recognize it. Moreover, he has formed a cabinet of ministers of his own.

The parliament appointed professional serviceman Ibragim Suleymenov as defense minister. Air Leiutenant General Viskan Shakhabov will be his first deputy.

The latter held the office earlier, but was dismissed by Dudayev when he proclaimed the neutrality of the armed forces in the midst of the present political crisis in the republic.

The Chechen Army will function on a contractual basis. It is mobilized in order "to provide for the military basis of the state sovereignty of the republic, to regulate the activities of the armed units, and keep records of the armaments and military property".

The army will recruit 2,000 men with a minimum monthly wages of 150,000 rubles.

Dudayev's reaction to the government's decision is so far unknown.

New Chechen Premier Blames Dudayev for Republican Crisis

LD2105181493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1621 GMT 21 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sharip Asuyev]

[Text] Groznyy May 21 TASS—The deep economic and political crisis in the Chechen Republic was provoked by poorly considered and unskillful actions of President Dzhokhar Dudayev, believes newly-appointed Chechen Prime Minister Yaragi Mamodayev.

In an interview with the independent IMPULS newspaper he accused Dudayev of bringing to a naught with his instruction the whole governmental program to stabilize the republican situation, elaborated a year ago. As a result, four million tonnes of oil products were supplied from the republic in an unknown direction in 1992, and the poverty-stricken people was involved in political passions and rallies.

"I wonder why not all Chechen citizens took to the street," said the official.

Mamodayev, 40, was appointed the prime minister of the popular confidence government by the Chechen Parliament on May 11 on a coordinated proposal of public-political movements and parties in opposition to Dudayev. The president described this decision as illegal and formed his own Cabinet of Ministers, who took the oath yesterday.

Thus, the Chechen Republic now has two Cabinets of Ministers. Mamodayev does not care about this fact and told the IMPULS newspaper he knows well what and how to do.

"The situation can be changed. The crisis can be stopped and progress can begin within two or three months," he said.

Bearing in mind order in the republican cannot be restored without the assistance of power structures, Mamodayev began to consolidate the law-enforcement bodies.

President's counteraction to the popular confidence government is inevitable. Mamodayev said their main aim is to prevent an armed conflict between Chechens. In his opinion, the dispute of two political forces can be solved with a Sheriat court before the referendum on republican form of rule scheduled for June 5.

Today Sheriat is the only authority, whose decision will be accepted by the majority of Chechen citizens. However, the president does not agree to either secular or Sheriat courts, said Mamodayev.

Chechnya Restores Financial Relations With Russia

LD2105211293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1522 GMT 21 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sharip Asuyev]

[Text] Groznyy, 21 May—The government of Chechnya headed by Yaragiy Mamodayev resolved today to restore the functioning of the Main Directorate of the Russian Federation Central Bank in the Republic of Chechnya.

One and a half years ago the activities of this directorate were ceased and all its property was confiscated after the creation of the Independent National Bank of Chechnya. The Russian Central Bank then resorted to tough sanctions and practically stopped supplying Chechnya with cash. As a result of this, the blue and white collar workers and pensioners in the republic could not get any money for months. True, during the last few days R [ruble] 2.5 billion in cash has been delivered from Moscow to Groznyy, which allowed the opponents of Dzhokhar Dudayev to claim that Moscow is secretly flirting with his regime and always comes to his help at the critical moment.

The resolution made by the cabinet of Yaragiy Mamodayev admits that the functioning of the Main Directorate of the Russian Central Bank in the Republic of Chechnya was halted "without taking account of reality". The functions of the revived Main Directorate have been entrusted to one of the commercial banks in Groznyy.

Chechen Cabinet Sworn In; Dudayev To Name 'Power' Ministers

MK2205112093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 May 93 p 3

[Natalya Pachegina report: "Chechen Cabinet of Ministers Sworn In. Future of 'Power' Ministries To Be Decided by President Later"]

[Text] On 20 May the Chechen president "satisfied" the opposition, as he sees it. This happened when the republic's new Cabinet of Ministers was being sworn in. The seven ministries and 21 departments comprising the new government made it possible, first, to cut the government staff in half. Furthermore, what the president called essentially different, newly created ministries and departments of the cabinet will provide for flexible management of the republic's economy. Second, the restructuring of the Cabinet of Ministers, which continues to be headed by the president himself, is bound to lead to an economic recovery, which in itself would, in Dudayev's view, disarm the opposition.

The makeup of the current Chechen government, which drew objections from the parliament and the opposition, has been substantially modified, Movladi Udugov, chief of the newly formed Information Department, said. The only "veterans" who stayed on are people well-known in Chechnya—Yusef Shamsutdin, head of the Foreign Ministry, Economics and Finance Minister Taymaz Abubakarov, and a few of their colleagues. The opposition's objections as to the makeup of the Cabinet of Ministers, which, according to Dudayev's opponents included 75 percent of the former ministers and their deputies, reveal not only the opposition's capriciousness, but also a lack of professionalism on its part, Udugov said. Udugov, claiming that he knows best, asserted that his compatriots were familiar with only 35 percent of the new government members. All the rest are relied upon—even by the president—to take decisive steps toward reviving the Chechen economy.

According to reports from people close to the president, one of the appointed deputy prime ministers—Mairbek Mugadayev or Musa Doshukayev—will be entrusted with heading the Cabinet of Ministers. So far, however, the president continues to head the executive body.

What remains yet unknown is the fate of the "power" ministries. They are temporarily headed by the republic's commandant, Khamzat Khonkarov, who not so long ago replaced an international sports celebrity, Khasimikov. The drastic changes, which, as President Dudayev is convinced, both the Internal Affairs Ministry and the Security Ministry of the Chechen Republic need badly, he plans to carry out on his own in the very near future without anyone's meddling.

Chechnya's Dudayev Confers With Military

LD2405095993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0832 GMT 24 May 93

[Text] Groznyy, 24 May (ITAR-TASS)—President Dzhokhar Dudayev of the Chechen Republic has had talks with members of the General Staff of the Chechnya Armed Forces. The meeting was held behind closed doors. The issues discussed at the talks were not made public. ITAR-TASS has this information from the CHECHENPRESS agency.

International Affairs

Zlenko, U.S. Ambassador Discuss Relations

LD2205164393 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1600 GMT 22 May 93

[Text] On 22 May, Ukrainian Foreign Affairs Minister Anatoliy Zlenko received Roman Popadyuk, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the United States to Ukraine. In the course of the meeting, the present state of relations between Ukraine and the United States and prospects for their further development on a qualitatively new basis were analyzed.

It was stressed that the signing of a relevant interstate document at the highest level in the very near future, which would determine the aims and a legal foundation of these relations for a long time in the future, would foster a further strengthening and deepening of bilateral relations. The sides exchanged information regarding the development of events in the former Yugoslavia, as well as on the efforts of the international community directed at settling the dangerous conflict in this region.

The Ukrainian foreign affairs minister confirmed his invitation to the U.S. secretary of state to visit our state.

Cabinet Issues Instructions on Yugoslavia Sanctions

LD2405104693 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in English 0000 GMT 24 May 93

[Text] The Cabinet of Ministers circulated its instructions to relevant government agencies ordering them to secure UN sanctions implementation against Yugoslavia.

The instructions authorized the above agencies to minimize the state's economic losses through observance of the UN-imposed sanctions by a stricter control over Ukrainian shipments across the affected regions.

Kravchuk, Polish President Begin Meetings

LD2405101893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0932 GMT 24 May 93

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Viktor Demidenko for TASS]

[Text] Kiev, 24 May—Talks have just begun in the Mariyinskiy Palace between Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk and Polish President Lech Walesa; the latter arrived in Ukraine for an official visit today. The talks are being held with a restricted number of persons present.

A package of Ukrainian-Polish documents is scheduled to be signed today, including agreements on regional economic cooperation, on cooperation in health care, air communications, and other topics. After the documents have been signed, a session of the consultative committee of the presidents of Ukraine and the Republic of Poland will begin.

Walesa Predicts No Major Boost in Ties

LD2405084093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0726 GMT 24 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Nekrasova]

[Text] Lvov May 24 TASS—"Poland's domestic problems do not allow it to promote active cooperation with foreign countries," President Lech Walesa told the Ukrainian television on the eve of his official visit to Kiev, scheduled to begin today. "The Polish-Ukrainian dialogue has acquired a new meaning and new content over the past year, but it is not fully satisfactory. Probably, it is obstructed by domestic problems, unresolved economic and social matters. We, in our country, are trying to normalise social life and then, apparently, we shall be more attractive for external cooperation. We think that Ukraine has chosen the same course. And the faster and better domestic matters are put right in each country, the faster we shall emerge side by side on the world scene," Walesa noted.

He said that President Leonid Kravchuk of Ukraine had visited Warsaw a year ago. The two states have clearly decided since then that they are strategic partners. The main thing now is to reach agreement on problems of political and economic security in the region which, in the long run, will become an influential factor in the all-European process.

President Walesa further dwelt on the concept of security in Central and Eastern Europe. He backed Kravchuk's proposal to set up a security region and noted the need to determine its status and create a mechanism to guarantee its implementation. It must be formed on the basis of the inviolability of borders, irrespective of circumstances, and non-use of force to resolve inter-state disputes.

Turning to the new experience of creating post-communist states, Walesa stressed that Poland adhered to a different philosophy in this respect. President Yeltsin, for instance, is conducting his reforms by offering his own ways to resolve existing problems. Of course, he is offering democratic things, but he himself is directly implementing them. Poland, on the other hand, has to do it painstakingly, to argue it out, to reach agreement with a hundred parties to arrive at the common view that "the country is formed by the efforts of all the people, but they are guided by one man, who must not be distracted, like a locomotive driver, when he is at the driving wheel. Time will show what philosophy was correct".

The agenda of Walesa's official visit to Ukraine is quite busy. It includes the first meeting of the consultative committee of the two presidents—Kravchuk and Walesa. The sides will sign a treaty on regional economic cooperation, agreements on border water economy and public health. A treaty on urgent warning about nuclear accidents, agreements on air communication, on mutual migration of workers, on legal assistance and on criminal matters. Walesa will visit Vinnitsa and Lvov on Wednesday May 26, where he will meet leaders of the local Catholic church and representatives of the Polish minority.

Kravchuk Seeks 'Solid' Arab Ties, Peace Process Role

JN2105191393 Amman Jordan Television Network in Arabic 1700 GMT 21 May 93

["Exclusive" interview with President Leonid Kravchuk by unidentified reporter; place and date not given—recorded, in Ukranian with simultaneous translation into Arabic]

[Text] [Kravchuk] We believe the Arab states can become good partners with Ukraine. We want to establish broad and solid relations in various fields with these Arabs states. We will soon take diplomatic and political steps in terms of opening embassies. In my opinion, we and the Arabs will benefit from these steps, which will contribute to the achievement of peace, security, and stability in the region and to the establishment of good relations betweem the Arab and Ukrainian people.

[Reporter] Your Excellency the President: What role can Ukraine play in finding a peaceful solution in the Middle East?

[Kravchuk] Ukraine's interests in this region are based on friendship and cooperation. Hence, Ukraine can contribute through the United Nations or through other international conventions. It can participate and play an active role in the Middle East peace process.

I hope the plans of the Jordanian people and His Majesty King Husayn will be achieved. I wish them continued peace, progress, and prosperity.

Cuban Ambassador Interviewed on Ties

AU2105135393 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 15 May 93 p 5

[Interview with Diogenes Hernandez Astorga, Cuba's ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Ukraine, by Ihor Hrushko in Kiev; date not given: "It Is Both More Difficult and More Satisfying To Be an Ambassador"]

[Text] **Whereas before, in the former USSR, everybody wrote unanimously favorably about Cuba, at present, in the CIS, there are different attitudes toward it. We, for our part, believe that it is up to the Cuban people alone how to live and what ideals to profess. We would only like to recall that, over several years, 10,500 children from Ukraine have improved their health or have been cured from grave diseases in Cuba.... To recall and emphasize this fact.**

[Hrushko] You started your diplomatic work as a Consul General in one of the former USSR republics. At present, you are an ambassador in a sovereign state. Has it become more difficult to work?

[Hernandez] However strange it might sound, everything has changed for the better. Even though there is, certainly, more work. However, the fact that Ukraine and Cuba maintain relations as two sovereign and independent states makes the fulfillment of my duties and the embassy's work in general much easier. It must also be stressed that very good relations also existed between our countries before.

[Hrushko] Our states are going through difficult times. Especially in the economic sphere. In this regard, how do you assess prospects for the Ukrainian-Cuban trade and economic cooperation?

[Hernandez] Indeed, for known reasons, trade and economic ties between us have weakened. However, a trend toward their improvement is becoming visible due to the trade and economic agreement that has been signed. While during the last year, mutual deliveries amounted to just $15 million, we hope that this year they will rise to $50 million. However, this is not a limit. Both Ukraine and Cuba are interested in restoring our economic ties and reaching the level of previous years when mutual deliveries constituted $1 billion annually. We can also offer much to your state: Cuban sugar, its processing at your enterprises, medicine, the most advanced medical equipment, citrus fruits, and nickel. The founding of joint Ukrainian-Cuban ventures may, in my opinion, become a very promising trend. Besides, Cubans, who have their trade missions all over the world, could promote the emergence of Ukrainian products upon the markets of third countries.

For our part, we want to buy in Ukraine spare parts for our enterprises, metals, and foodstuffs.

(Hrushko] Some people in Ukraine think: Cuba is so far away from us, and the expenditure on transportation is so large.... They say that it is inexpedient to trade with it.

[Hernandez] They think so because they do not know about the real situation. For example, all the sugar is delivered to Ukraine by Cuban vessels, and on the way back they can take Ukrainian goods. At the same time, Ukrainian ships sometimes sail empty to Jamaica to take bauxite there. Thus, there are possibilities for mutually profitable shipments. They must only be looked for.

[Hrushko] Everything that you have said about good prospects for bilateral cooperation will largely depend on the duration of the economic blockade imposed upon your island by the Unites States.

[Hernandez] Undoubtedly. It badly interferes with our trade ties with the whole world. Take, for example, the so-called Torricelli Law approved by the Bush administration. This law forbids those vessels that ship cargo to Cuba to enter American ports.

However, we hope that the blockade will not last forever, all the more so since last October the United Nations approved a corresponding resolution against the blockade from which our people have been suffering for over three decades. Incidentally, Ukraine was the only one among all former socialist states and countries that emerged on the territory of the USSR that spoke decidedly against the blockade. This is yet another evidence of good relations that have traditionally existed between our peoples.

[Hrushko] Mr. Ambassador, it is already several years that Cuba has been giving us its noble humanitarian assistance that is highly valued by the people of Ukraine. I mean treatment and the improvement of health of those children who were affected by the Chernobyl catastrophe. However, in view of your economic difficulties, will it continue?

[Hernandez] Through your newspaper, I want to assure the Ukrainian public: Our country will provide help to the children of Chernobyl without any restrictions in terms of amount or time. Three large hospitals, a Young Pioneer camp on the ocean shore, and 11 medical research institutions are ready to accommodate as many children as you are able to send to Cuba.

[Hrushko] Thank you for the conversation.

State Committee for Economic Cooperation With CIS Formed

LD2405110593 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1000 GMT 24 May 93

[Text] The Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine has adopted a resolution on creating a state committee of Ukraine for economic cooperation with countries that emerged on the territory of the former Soviet Union. Its main tasks will be developing a strategy of economic cooperation with countries of the CIS, and carrying out measures for its implementation, that is, coordination of activity of central bodies of the executive power when concluding and fulfilling Ukraine's international agreements on economic cooperation with countries of [words indistinct] and ensuring protection of economic interests of Ukraine.

National Affairs

Deputies Vote for 'De Jure' Nuclear Status

PM2105134993 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 20 May 93 p 2

[Vladimir Zaynetdinov report: "Hands Off My Button!"]

[Text] Kiev—A total of 243 Ukrainian Supreme Soviet deputies have backed a categorical statement in parliament: that the republic should be deemed a de jure nuclear power. The "ringleaders" of this demarche were representatives of Rukh.

Recently they have persistently tried to force the Supreme Soviet to resolve in their favor the issue of fully transferring the CIS Armed Forces' nuclear weapons to Ukrainian ownership. Observers believe that, having secured nuclear status for Ukraine, Rukh will make a dramatic bid for power.

Despite the partial split in the movement, its position in the republic's parliament and at local level is very strong. There are Rukh offices in every oblast, and also in Crimea and Sevastopol. Rukh leader Vyacheslav Chornovil is untroubled by the fact that the most of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet is pro-communist. "But we, the minority, guide this majority," Chornovil stated in an interview with your KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA correspondent.

In fact Rukh forced the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet to sign the Declaration on Sovereignty and refuse to ratify the CIS Charter. Under extremely heavy pressure from Rukh's parliamentary faction, the ban on the Communist Party has remained in place. Under pressure from Rukh deputies, the Ukrainian parliament has not ratified the START I Treaty or the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

Rukh, unlike many political parties, is not adopting an extreme nationalist stance, which means that it is more sympathetically received in eastern Ukraine. A recent sociological poll revealed, among other things, that the Ukrainian Socialist Party—the only officially registered pro-communist organization—is supported by no more than 2 percent of the population, whereas Rukh is preferred by 22 percent. If Rukh comes to power, nobody knows what steps the new Ukrainian leaders will take.

Zaporozhskaya AES Explosion Kills One; No Radiation Leakage

LD2205073093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0629 GMT 22 May 93

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Vera Beregovaya for TASS]

[Text] Kiev, 22 May—N. Oberkovich, one of the technical managers of the Zaporozhskaya nuclear power station [AES], reports from Zaporozhye that an accident took place at 1628 on Friday at Zaporozhskaya AES fifth power generating unit, which is undergoing routine repairs. The manager qualified it as "an accident." The hydrogen used in the generator cooling system ignited during the maintenance work on the cooling system of the electrical generator in the turbine room, which is not connected with the reactor block. The equipment that ignited does not contain any radioactive substances.

The firefighting brigade and its personnel managed to eliminate the fire with available firefighting equipment and by turning off the supply of hydrogen. Two workers from the repair unit received burns, as a result of which one of them died. The second worker has been hospitalized and is in a serious condition.

The expert said that the equipment at the power generating unit has not been damaged. The incident did not affect the regional environment, he added. the radiation level at the Zaporozhskaya AES is around 8-14 microroentgen per hour, which is within the limit of background radiation.

An investigation of the causes of the fire is underway. Power generating units 1, 2, 3, and 4 are carrying the nominal load. The technical manager said in conclusion that routine repair work is continuing on the fifth power generating unit.

Situation Returns to 'Normal'

LD2305110593 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 22 May 93

[Text] At midday on 22 May, the situation in Energodar and in adjacent rayons of Zaporozhye and Dnepropetrovsk oblasts became normal at last, thanks to the fact that people received exhaustive information about the accident on the equipment which is not part of the reactor block of the fifth power unit of the Zaporozhskaya nuclear power station. This unit is under regular maintenance. As has already been reported, the hydrogen used in the electric power unit cooling system ignited, and two workers were burned. One of them could not be saved.

On the whole, the situation in the oblast is quiet today, Mykola Vorozhko, deputy head of the oblast state administration, said in a conversation with an UKRINFORM correspondent. A team of doctors, including our best resuscitation specialists, left for Energodar at once. The second worker, Ryabokon, suffered very serious burns to his respiratory ducts, and he also had an edema of the lungs. The doctors managed to stabilize his condition, although his situation is still very serious. However, he is now conscious, and there is hope that it will be possible to save this worker.

A commission continues its investigation of the accident, and staff at the power station are working normally.

Kuchma, Kravchuk Address Parliament 21 May

LD2105173193

[Editorial Report] Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian at 0700 GMT on 21 May begins a live relay from the Ukrainian parliament session taking place in Kiev.

At 0755 GMT Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma addresses the deputies. Speaking in Russian, he says: "I have had some more time to think seriously and I have become almost stronger in my ideas. I want to say that in my report I promised you hard work and sweat. I think I missed out one thing that also awaits us—the tears. I thank (Mikhail Vasilyevich Matsyalko), who has brought a Russian telegram. I will read it to you:

"To everyone. It was signed by the first deputy minister of fuel and power engineering of Russia and the chairman of the committee of the Russian Federation for price policy. We report that as from 1 April 1993, when issuing products of oil refining delivered by all enterprises and organizations of Russia, whatever their organizational and legal forms, to countries of the CIS, Azerbaijan, Georgia, and the Baltics, accounts should be settled at world prices.

"This means that another price spiral for oil and gas awaits in the near future. If up to now we received them somewhere at the level of, I think, say 65—70, yes?—65 percent, then the Russian decision is clear and understandable. But you probably well understand that a referendum also costs a great deal. Therefore, in this most difficult situation in which we are living today, and which is drawing near, the president really should assume full responsibility and power, which he asked of us all yesterday. I simply believe we should give our support, and I am asking you to do so."

At approximately 0757 GMT, President Leonid Makarovych Kravchuk begins to speak. He says: "Esteemed people's deputies, I am convinced that these three days, when we have been in this hall, close to various critical speeches and observations—which sometimes were not even well-founded—were something that we needed.

"I must say that the prime minister's report was objective and honest, and that in those six months the government worked in extreme conditions, and did what it could, again in a responsible way. I found it shameful and difficult to sit and listen to this limbering up in relation to the government regarding gestation and regarding decree-making. There are some here who regard themselves as Mephistopheles, and want to play a part in a big play, and come here for their erudition to be heard on how one can trample on the government.

"As they say, what happened, happened. There are some who respect only one right—to defame others. This is not the first time. [Voices heard in background] Please do not put me off. This will not come to anything for anyone. I will say what I want to say. But the rest is your affair.

"So I supported the government from the very beginning, and supported it to the end. This was because I knew that the government was a qualified one, and could work. It did not happen like this, however, because—excuse me, this has to be said sincerely and frankly—deputies want the government to come onto this platform, and make speeches and programs all the time, and the deputies could do their limbering up on the government. I am not saying this about everyone, but about some of the deputies. This is the situation. It happened like this. Conversations are now going on, again, that we have now begun to work constructively here, and that everything is coming right here now, but that the president has supposedly again put us off course. So, I am reminding you, that as from April not a single decision has been adopted on the most important issues of Ukraine's political life. Not a single decision. Following conversations everything remains in its place.

"However, if we do not adopt a decision today—I repeat, I am not insisting on the president assuming full responsibility, I am not insisting. I made a proposal. There could be three versions. The president assumes [responsibility]—this is the most difficult decision, and no one can accuse me, not even the extreme left or the extreme right, who want there to be some kind of uncertainty. Then we can do what we want to do. There is a platform on which to transfer one's guilt and responsibility onto others. This cannot go on. If not the president, then the government. If not the government, then the Supreme Council.

"But whatever decision is adopted it demands changes to the constitution—whatever decision. You want to leave things as they are. Kuchma has tendered his resignation. This means that there is no government. This means that a political government crisis has begun. This means that Constitutional Article 97 on the government's right to issue decrees has ceased to be in force today. This has ceased. The president does not have powers to issue [decrees], they have been removed—Article 114.

"Then I propose that the Supreme Council remains and adopts all of those resolutions, that it remains here and adopts all of the resolutions, (?please). You should write this into the Constitution. I do not want anyone from the left to come out here and write that we gave powers to the president, and you see he did not make use of them. I remind you that they were not given, but taken away. I have an attitude of respect to Serhiy Ivanovych Dorohuntsov; he said this fairly—they were not given, but taken away—although in his latest speeches he has no great liking for the president. This does not mean at all that he said this fairly. Yes, fairly.

"But there are others, there are also those who think, if there is going to be such uncertainty, then those who want to take power will get the upper hand. The president will never be liked until one of them becomes president. The extreme right think if there is uncertainty, they will get the upper hand. That is, it is all about us being drawn into a political struggle.

"I ask you to define your stance clearly on those three issues. The chairman of the Supreme Council also spoke from that platform honestly and responsibly yesterday. Because he is not liked by some, or has trodden on someone's toes, then that does not mean at all that it is so. The people have heard everything.

"If we do not define our stance on these three issues—any of them suits me. But any of them means full responsibility for that—please, let each take what is his and do what is needed. If this does not happen, I declare, Ukraine is in a political crisis, because of games in parliament. I have the right to appeal to the people." Applause is then heard.

At approximately 0905 GMT a vote is taken on a bill on making changes and amendments to the Ukrainian Constitution on the president approving decrees on issues of economic reform not covered by existing laws, which would be in force until appropriate laws are passed by parliament. Following the vote the parliament speaker announces: "354, this issue is decided."

A report by Deputy Prime Minister Viktor Pynzenyk then follows. At approximately 1121 GMT Parliament Speaker Plyushch announces: "The session will resume its plenary sitting at 1000 on 1 June."

Cabinet Meets, Prepares Reform Legislation

LD2205144593 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1200 GMT 22 May 93

[Text] A session of the Cabinet of Ministers was held on 21 May under the chairmanship of Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma. The session examined issues connected with organizing its work in the conditions existing since the examination of the government's report at the session of the Ukraine Supreme Council.

It was noted that in spite of the considerable limitations on the government's powers in legislative activity, the Cabinet of Ministers is continuing to work intensively, resolving a large number of complex problems in effectively managing Ukraine's economy. The new conditions demand even more organized and efficient work from ministries, state committees, and the cabinet as a whole. The session stressed the need to ensure implementation of the decrees adopted by the government in the last six months, and noted that they can only be canceled by a law approved by the Supreme Council.

The Cabinet of Ministers (?issued) a number of instructions. In particular, it envisages setting up an economic reforms center under the prime minister in the near future. The better specialists, and representatives of alternative ideas for ways of implementing them, will be brought in to work for the center. It is planned to found a national investment agency.

It is proposed that proposals regarding the changes which need to be made to operative legislation in order to carry out economic transformations be prepared over the next two weeks and submitted for examination to the Supreme Council, which now has the right to make the final decisions regarding economic reforms in Ukraine.

The meeting discussed the extremely acute situation brought about by Russia's introduction of world prices for energy-carriers delivered to Ukraine. This development makes the introduction of cardinal structural changes to the economy a matter of urgency.

A number of other issues of the state's socio-economic development were examined at the session, and appropriate decisions were made.

In addition, the Cabinet of Ministers has set up a Ukrainian state committee for matters of publishing, printing, and book distribution. It is the successor of the Ukraine State Press Committee.

New Anti-Submarine Ship Launched

LD2205225793 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 22 May 93

[Text] A new anti-submarine ship, the Lutsk, came off the stocks of Kyyivska Kuznya works on 22 of May. It is already the fifth ship of this kind that has been added to the Naval forces of Ukraine, the press service of the Ministry of Defense reports. The Lutsk has arrived at its base in Sevastopol following the performance test.

Moldova

Negotiations on 14th Army Withdrawal Continue

Smirnov's Adviser Assesses Talks

AU2405064493 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1949 GMT 22 May 93

[Text] Chisinau, BASAPRESS, 22/5/1993—Results of the fifth round of negotiations between Russian and Moldovan parties regarding the terms of the withdrawal of the 14th Army constituted the theme of the press conference held yesterday in Tiraspol by Anatoll Kurcin, the military adviser of Igor Smirnov. According to declarations of Kurcin, representatives of the self-proclaimed Dniester republic refused to participate in negotiations as part of a delegation from Moldova and insisted that the withdrawal of the 14th Army be performed after an agreement regarding the political status of Dniester is signed. Proposals from Moldova regarding the complete withdrawal of the 14th Army until the middle of 1994 are according to what Kurcin said, unrealistic because the latter is a process which will take several years. Representatives of the self-proclaimed Dniester republic, during negotiations spoke against the replacement of Russian personnel from peace keeping forces by units of another state. Kurcin stated that during negotiations, no evident progress was registered and in next round, which will take place in the middle of June, they plan to invite the chief of Russian delegation, General-Colonel Vorobyov.

Government Proposes Date, Terms

AU2105202693 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 2000 GMT 20 May 93

[Text] Chisinau BASAPRESS, 20/5/1993—"During the fifth round of negotiations regarding the status, conditions and terms of the withdrawal of the 14th Army, begun in Moscow, Moldova proposed, for the first time, that the withdrawal of Russian troops be achieved by the middle of next year," declared Ion Ciubuc, the vice minister of foreign affairs of Moldova, while being questioned by a BASA correspondent. The withdrawal of the 14th Army will be urged by the a mission from the Security Council of the European Community, according to a mandate which he has, stated Ciubuc, in order to facilitate negotiations between the parties involved in the conflict, it is necessary that Parliament urges the determination of a special status for Dniester, also clarified the cited source. Two agreements were reached during the fifth round of negotiations: with regard to the judicial and right of assistance offered to the 14th Army during its presence on the territory of Moldova and with regard to the withdrawal of battalion number 2 of radio components, situated in Varnita. During the same round of negotiations, an agreement regarding the factory for rebuilding military equipment form Tighina (Bender) was discussed. It belongs to Russian Federation and was "nationalised" in an abusive way by authorities of the self-proclaimed Dniester Republic. "The withdrawal of the 14th Army, for the Russian Federation and Dniester depends on determining special status for Dniester," stated Ion Ciubuc. The next round of negotiations will take place in June in Chisinau.

Snegur Discusses New Approach to Dniester, Gagauz

AU2105152093 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 2000 GMT 20 May 93

[Text] Chisinau BASAPRESS, 20/5/1993—Even if I am called a hundred times more a traitor and capitulant, I feel happy that we did not organize last summer a Georgian-Abkhazian-type war, asserted Moldovan President Mircea Snegur in an interview offered to the newspaper DELOVAYA GAZETA. By clarifying thoughts in relation to the chief of state, speaker, and premier "thinker in unison," Snegur assessed that "if during that period of time the current trio of politicians would have been at the leadership, we might have avoided many of those problems which we currently regret." According to the Snegur the war in the Dniester region was started by "people having a militaristic inclination, the other ones being only implicated," without clarifying whom he meant. Snegur declared that "we must accept a compromise with Gagauzia and Dniester because otherwise, there will be no reforms or development of the economy." The president also clarified that "businessmen from the West who respect themselves do not want to deal with us because they are threatened by the political instability here." Approaching the issue from another angle, Snegur assessed that "our intellectuals, who like to talk about patriotism are totally disinterested in the destiny of our compatriots." After mentioning that most likely he will have a "productive meeting" with General Aleksandr Lebed [commander of the 14th CIS Army stationed in the Dniester Region], the chief of state calculated that without establishing a special status for Dniester the withdrawal of the 14th Army could be blocked through suppression exerted by Tiraspol.

Snegur Urges Butrus-Ghali To Intervene in Tiraspol Trial

AU2305160693 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1952 GMT 21 May 93

[Text] Chisinau, BASAPRESS, 21/5/1993—The president of Moldova, Mircea Snegur, addressed today a message to the general secretary of the United Nations, Butrus Butrus-Ghali, in which he demands urgent interference, in a humanitarian spirit, in order to help political detainees from Tiraspol. The leadership of the Republic of Moldova is profoundly anxious about the destiny of citizens of Moldova, Ilie Ilascu, Andrei Ivantoc, Alexandru Lesco, Tudor Petrov-Popa, and Petru Goalac, arrested on June the 2nd, 1992 and presently involved in a penal investigation by separatist authorities from the eastern regions of the country, and whose lives are now exposed to danger, the application of capital punishment being a possibility, stated the message of President Snegur broadcasted to BASAPRESS agency by the press service of the president. Snegur also stated that under the actual stage of the development of human rights, the international community cannot accept an attempt on the lives of some people because of their political beliefs and refusal to accept a separatist and unconstitutional regime.

Kazakhstan

Nazarbayev Stresses Intra-CIS Cooperation

PM2105112393 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 21 May 93 p 3

[Interview with President Nursultan Nazarbayev by Yevgeniy Dotsuk in Almaty; date not given: "We Need To Look Each Other in the Eye When Making Policy. Our Correspondent Talks With Kazakhstan President"]

[Text] Almaty-Moscow—[Dotsuk] You have the reputation of a man who not only says but knows what needs to be done to the economy. Western experts and advisers have been working with you. Nonetheless, the economy of Kazakhstan—like that of Russia and the other CIS countries—is in profound crisis. What has gone wrong with the Kazakhstani economic reform program?

[Nazarbayev] Well, in that case, let's remember everything properly. It was quite recently, after all. Well then. We passed a law on production sharing and later a law on enterprises which, incidentally, finally brought everything tumbling down. It turned out that this law should not have been passed under command-economy conditions. The law gave enterprise collectives the right to elect their directors, and we were not used to this. Directors started subordinating themselves to various group interests. The people who came to the fore weren't those who could do the job, but those who could please others.

We then started casting around for the kind of new economy we should have. It suddenly dawned on everyone that we should build a market economy. Petrakov and Shatalin had been talking about it. But nobody had any experience of it! Incidentally, the 500 days program was an attempt to make a rapid and organized transition to the marketplace. At the same time, we could have done everything in harmony, all together. But the program was not accepted at the time. And then there was the putsch, the collapse of the Union, the Belovezheskaya Forest agreement, and all the rest of it. During this period we had Western economic organizations operating here, including the IMF.

They defined the main task as being to cut prices loose, liberalize the economy, and carry out denationalization and privatization. At heads of state meetings in 1991 I reported that we should do this together—since we are still in a single area—and gradually. But it was thought that time had already been wasted. And Russia liberalized prices in January 1992. What could we do in Kazakhstan—where 70 percent of the economy is dependent on Russia? We had no choice. Admittedly, we had already worked out a coupon-based system for privatizing housing, and we had carried out small-scale privatizations. But, on the whole, the controllability of the economy had deteriorated.

Now that we have been living with wholesale liberalization for a year and a bit, IMF experts are saying that we should not have made an overnight, unceremonious dash for the market back then under the conditions of the Soviet Union. We should have done it gradually. But experience is experience, even if it's bad. We have to draw conclusions from it. We have to state bluntly that our hope that, in the atmosphere of the command-economy system, denationalization and privatization would work from the bottom up has not been born out. That is why we are now quite actively introducing elements of regulation into the economy. We have declared all enterprises to be joint-stock companies, with the state retaining half of the shares. This was necessary in order to return some controllability to the economy and to conduct privatization with the participation of the state as owner.

[Dotsuk] What about land ownership, Nursultan Abishevich?

[Nazarbayev] In order to answer that question we need to clarify the situation in Kazakhstan and in our parliament. Many people are unhappy about why Nazarbayev wants land to be bought and sold. Kazakhs engage mainly in stockraising and sometimes in crop farming, and are afraid that fertile land will end up in someone else's hands. Currently, under our Constitution, we are issuing bequeathable 99-year leases on land. That is acceptable to our citizens. For foreigners it is a difficult issue. But we are gradually moving toward the idea that people who are going to build industrial enterprises or their own homes should be given ownership of the land. This matter will be decided if not by this Supreme Soviet then by the next.

[Dotsuk] Your views and those of the Supreme Soviet are often categorically different. Aren't you afraid that these contradictions could soon become irreversible and that there could be a repetition of the Russian situation?

[Nazarbayev] Yes, our parliamentary debates are by no means always plain sailing. The most dramatic time was when we were adopting the Constitution. It even seemed that we were headed for a split. But, as a result of concessions on both sides, we arrived at the version which currently exists. Of course, this Constitution too has its shortcomings. But we have found common ground on the main issues. And we now have a fundamental law of a state that has been recognized by the international community. Our Constitution has been subject to expert legal scrutiny by specialists from France, Germany, and the United States. It will, of course, be improved, but it already gives us the opportunity to live a normal life in accordance with the fundamental law. The Constitution has the support of the people of Kazakhstan. That is the main thing.

Despite all our differences, I value the fact that our parliament—although not a professional parliament—has still done a huge amount of work and created the legislative basis for the transition to a market economy. And the Russian experience shows our deputies that in this very difficult period we need unity in the top echelons of power above all.

[Dotsuk] Many people are convinced that Nazarbayev now has enough prestige to replace today's CIS with a normal structure of just three or four states which really want to be in a commonwealth and act together. These could be Russia, Kazakhstan, and Belarus. Why can't you bring yourself to do that?

[Nazarbayev] Quite honestly, I had hoped that within a short period of time we would have seen the formation of a normal commonwealth which would help us to fight the economic crisis together and prevent wars and bloodshed. But I now realize that it will take time for us to unite normally. It seems to me that Russia and its leaders have a huge responsibility in this area. Russia must persuade everyone that it has really embarked on the path of democracy and does not want to return to an empire. Why do I say this? The fear of Germany remained even after the war, until Germany and its leaders apologized for fascism to the whole world. Only then did the world start to recognize democracy in Germany. America has repented for the extermination of the Red Indians. Russia needs to do something of the sort as well. Because all the peoples of the former Union republics still gravitate toward it—I am convinced of that. We have grown used to living alongside the Russian people. We have to create the same degree of confidence at state leader level. On 12 April I phoned Yeltsin and all the CIS state leaders to arrange a meeting for the 16th. We 10 leaders, looking each other in the eye, decided that those among us who were prepared [kto na chto gotov] would finally create a normal commonwealth. There were three issues—an economic union, a defense area, and foreign policy cooperation. I literally asked everyone to answer the question—do you agree or not? We instructed our governments to draw up a document on these issues. There is no excuse for dragging our feet any longer. Now, after the meeting in Moscow, we must examine how our decisions are being carried out. Will we be able to create an economic union (incidentally, this name was proposed in Minsk by L. Kravchuk, who for some reason opposed the word "union" in Moscow)? If everything remains on paper again, Kazakhstan is prepared to go back to the idea of creating a normal commonwealth.

[Dotsuk] Nursultan Abishevich, you said in Almaty the other day that a new integrated nationalities policy program is being drawn up in Kazakhstan...

[Nazarbayev] What kind of values do you think people should have? The state too should have values; they should be used to educate our young people. The number one question in Kazakhstan is to consolidate our multiracial people. Our academics are working on a consensus program. I have proposed the idea of an assembly of unity and consensus. It could meet, say, twice a year, and discuss all matters arising. For instance, if the Germans or the Uighur people had any problems, they would be discussed. The most important thing for us now in general is to develop a sense of a unified homeland among the people of Kazakhstan.

[Dotsuk] Meanwhile, Nursultan Abishevich, there are fears in non-Kazakh circles that Kazakhstan is artificially amending its demographic situation in favor of the Kazakh population. Primarily by moving Kazakhs from Mongolia and border areas of China. Is that true?

[Nazarbayev] This is a question that must be answered openly in order to preclude any misinterpretation. There is no official state policy being implemented in this context. But the laws adopted by the Supreme Soviet for those people who were subjected to repressions and deported from their land guarantee their descendants Kazakhstani citizenship.

I recently looked at the migration statistics. Last year 188,000 people came to Kazakhstan and roughly the same number left. Some 110,000 Kazakhs and 54,000 Russians from Russia settled in our republic. Most of the Kazakhs had indeed come from Mongolia. They do not want to live there. Back in the time of the USSR Mongolian Kazakhs tried to cross the border with their livestock and goods and chattels and stayed in our republic. These matters had to be addressed by Gorbachev. Shevardnadze appealed to the Mongolian Government. As a result we accepted the first 5,000 families. At the same time 20,000 Kazakhs came from Russia, 17,000 from Central Asia. And we admitted 23,000 Russians from Moldova, Ukraine, and the Transcaucasus.

Are Russians leaving Kazakhstan? Of course they are. We are aware of that. But this is not state policy. Tell me what Kazakhstan should do? Should it ban Kazakhs from returning to their historical homeland? What should Russia do? There is no need to overdramatize this process. Incidentally, local Kazakhs are more accustomed to living cheek by jowl with Russians than with migrants from Mongolia and China. The latter are mainly used to livestock farming and have a poor cultural level. It is not that easy for them to settle here. Yet qualified personnel and educated people are leaving. The Kazakh nation itself, our state should therefore have an interest in ensuring that Russians, Ukrainians, and Germans stay in Kazakhstan.

[Dotsuk] According to some observations, people are currently grouping together on national-clan lines in Kazakhstani business. Credits from the oblasts nurture their "own" economic clans in Almaty, and undesirable rivals are removed. Political interest may be behind this too, after all those with money also have power...

[Nazarbayev] I don't have unequivocal information to that effect, although the talk is not without foundation. When the market really starts to function, there will be no borders or ethnic groups. Now there are indeed instances in our republic of certain clan associations and attempts to revive tribal relations. This is akin to turning back the clock, a return to the caves. Some "medieval" people are holding assemblies, deciding who is the head man, etc. I think that we should get over this. And implement denationalization and privatization more rapidly. When a major industry becomes a joint-stock entity, that is when sound private business starts. There will be no local business divided up on ethnic lines. Incidentally, my decree on the responsibility of officials for their participation in new commercial structures is part of this. They have come under severe pressure; roughly 100 major criminal cases are currently under consideration in Kazakhstan. Cases of corruption and bribery are being uncovered. Throughout Kazakhstan we have tightened control over the implementation of our laws. Our anticrisis program presupposes a return to a regulated economy in order to ensure greater order in the process of denationalization and privatization.

[Dotsuk] There is no real opposition to presidential power in Kazakhstan, but you do have many personal enemies...

[Nazarbayev] This is a difficult issue for me. What is opposition? The head of state must endeavor to express the opinion of the majority of his population. I realize that it is impossible for everyone to be pleased with his policy. I would like there to be a civilized opposition that formulates its own programs and demonstrates that its suggestions are better than mine. There is none of that. And we have enshrined in the Constitution the idea that we suppress extremist, noncivilized methods of struggle.

As for personal enemies—I don't know whom I have injured and how. On the contrary, I have spent my whole life striving to find a common language with everyone. Particularly with people who expressed a tough, hostile attitude toward me. I myself don't hold a grudge at all. Now that democracy has arrived, some of our intellectual elite are behaving in a totally incomprehensible manner. Instead of using democracy to educate the Kazakhstan population and establish state power, independence, and the sovereignty of the state, they are fueling the situation in terms of Kazakhs' problems and exacerbating relations between nations. If they thought about the future of the nation, they would speak about consolidation, tranquillity, and rapprochement among the peoples. That is primarily what the Kazakhs themselves need.

Fortunately, the intelligentsia is a diverse breed. There are poets, writers, and scientists among them who approach these problems from lofty civic positions and take an understanding view of the policy that I am implementing. It is only amid tranquillity and confidence in the future that the Russian-speaking section of the population will take an understanding view of the problems of the Kazakh people. How can those who are taking advantage of petty, base, transient feelings fail to realize this? I say openly in my statements that our television should express the interests of multiethnic Kazakhstan without being biased in favor of the Kazakhs, as is the case now. We must endeavor to ensure that Russian, Ukrainian, and German nationals express their views in Kazakhstani newspapers. The Kazakh intelligentsia must appear in Russian-language publications.

By and large a policy of unity and consolidation within Kazakhstan cannot be implemented if that kind of tranquillity does not exist. And there can only be tranquillity if we, the republics of the former Soviet Union, unite and create our own economic area. The economy ultimately unites people. Kazakhstan trades with Russia—and the trade is profitable—and Russia also trades with us, and it too benefits. What is the use of dividing it up? Russian machine building and electronics cannot operate without Kazakhstan's nonferrous metals. You cannot make armor or a pistol barrel without Kazakhstan's ferroalloys. All aircraft cable is manufactured in Kazakhstan. Just as we buy from Russia everything that we lack.

That is the way the whole world trades.

For that reason when I talk about the CIS, about a single economic area, I believe that this is the prime condition for each of our states. God forbid Russia were to break up. Some people may think that the other peoples would benefit from that. The CIS, a normal Commonwealth, will reinforce Russia itself.

Let me say a separate word about relations between Kazakhstan and Russia. This is not political intrigue, it is life. It is history. Russians and Kazakhs have developed a shared mentality. Can you really take that away? The Kazakh people have not been as friendly with any other people as they have with the Russian people. It is a case of centuries of tradition. We must not wave fists at one another and flex our muscles. Those times are past. We are all members of the United Nations. We must grow accustomed to the fact that we have become independent states. We must have friendly, close, mutually beneficial relations. That says it all; nothing else is necessary.

Tajikistan

Foreign Minister on Incorporation Into Russia

LD2205164493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1530 GMT 22 May 93

[Text] Moscow, 22 May—Tajik Foreign Minister Rashid Alimov described as "groundless" a report which appeared in the mass media about an alleged request by Tajikistan to be incorporated into Russia. One must not stir up passions on the eve of the conclusion of a bilateral, equal treaty with Russia which both countries have been working toward since last August, he said today in a telephone conversation with an ITAR-TASS correspondent.

"Russia," Rashid Alimov said, "always was, is, and will be a priority for Tajikistan's foreign policy regardless of any political or other events."

66

First Humanitarian Aid Consignment Received From Russia

LD2105131293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1200 GMT 21 May 93

[By KHOVAR-TASS correspondent Salokhiddin Ergashev]

[Text] Dushanbe May 21 TASS—The Government of Russia is rushing free of charge humanitarian aid to Tajikistan, which has suffered from a disastrous natural calamity. The first 30-tonne load was brought to Dushanbe by air today. It is addressed to the population of the districts hit by torrential rains and mudstreams. The aid includes flour, sugar, tea and medicines worth four million roubles.

According to data received from the Russian Embassy in Tajikistan, the Russian Government has allocated a total of 110 million roubles to render material, technical and food aid to the republic, in addition to the two billion roubles interest-free aid from the Government of Russia to the Government of Tajikistan. It was learned at the embassy that one more planeload of foodstuffs will shortly arrive in the Tajik capital. Moreover, 300 sets of tents have been sent to Tajikistan by rail from Krasnodar.

Security Chief: Armed Opposition 'Doomed to Failure'

LD2205225893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1040 GMT 22 May 93

[Text] Dushanbe, 22 May—Saidamir Zukhurov, chairman of Tajikistan's National Security Committee, is firmly convinced that at present there is no real threat to the existing constitutional order in the republic. However, he does not rule out the possibility that armed opposition groups and their leaders who have taken refuge in neighboring Afghanistan will long "harbor the idea of regaining the power they have lost, using any means to destabilize the socio-political situation in certain regions of the country."

In an interview today to a local weekly, BIZNES I POLITIKA he spoke about the provocations on the Tajik-Afghan border which have intensified lately, and about repeated attempts by the anti-government grouping to violate the border.

He pointed out that Tajik special services have at their disposal quite comprehensive information that so-called incursion bases are being set up in the border regions of Afghanistan, where training is provided to the opposition by instructors recruited from among Afghan mojahedin and citizens of other Muslim countries.

The special services are also aware of the existence of a self-styled government in exile in the neighboring country, and of those who fund it. The Tajikistan government regards this as interference in the internal affairs of the sovereign state. However all the Islamic opposition's hopes are doomed to failure.

Saidamir Zukhurov cited in evidence the events of April and May, when government forces in conjunction with Russian border guards halted an attempt by the militants to break across the river Pyanj to the Tajik bank along the Khorog and Moskovskiy sections of the Tajik-Afghan border. There are reports of similar plans to violate the state border along the Pyanj and Kumsangir sections. I would, however, like to assure you that these are doomed to fail.

The head of the national security service pointed out here that those CIS countries that are signatory to the collective security treaty - primarily Russia, Kazakhstan, and Uzbekistan - are actively backing Tajikistan's own forces in reinforcing the border.

"The heads of CIS states have a further vested interest in strong southern borders: not only are armed groups infiltrating, but smuggled arms and drugs are flooding across the border and moving through the CIS states and on to the West," Saidamir Zukhurov said.

Uzbekistan

Karimov, Indian Prime Minister Rao Hold Talks

LD2305121893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1122 GMT 23 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Afred Baranov]

[Text] Tashkent May 23 TASS—Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao of the Republic of India arrived in Uzbekistan on Sunday [23 May] for an official friendly visit at the invitation of President Islam Karimov.

The Indian premier and the president of Uzbekistan had a one-on-one conversation on the state of affairs in the world community, on topical regional problems and on matters aimed at developing mutually beneficial economic cooperation and at strengthening relations between the two countries, the peoples of which have long been brought together by friendship and mutual respect.

The programme for the Indian premier's three-day stay also includes talks with the government of Uzbekistan, and meetings with representatives of the business community, state and public figures of the republic.

Agree To Expand Ties

BK2305161893 Delhi All India Radio Network in English 1530 GMT 23 May 93

[Text] India and Uzbekistan have agreed to expand their commercial, trade, and investment ties. Briefing newsmen in Tashkent this evening, an official spokesman said that the prime minister, Mr. Narasimha Rao, and the Uzbek president, Mr. Islam Karimov, discussed at length measures to usher in a new era of friendly relations. The two leaders have agreed that new areas of cooperation between the two countries should be explored. The dangers posed by terrorism and religious fundamentalism also came up for discussion during their 60-minute one-to-one talk. The prime minister reiterated India's firm resolve to protect the secular character of the country. He pointed out that extremism supported from across the border had created problems but could not succeed. Both the leaders also agreed to work for concretizing proposals for setting up joint ventures in various sectors. Mr. Narasimha Rao informed that the recently set up Indo-Uzbek Joint Commission will soon meet to identify priority areas where both the countries can benefit mutually.

Mr. Karimov dwelt at length on the trends of religious fundamentalism sweeping across the neighboring countries of Central Asia. The Uzbek president described the trend as a matter of great concern and expressed his country's determination to fight forces which use religion for creating problems and disruptive activities for immediate gains. Mr. Karimov pointed out that his country has taken up economic reconstruction programs in which Indian private sector could play an important role. He said India could think of strengthening economic ties with Uzbekistan by utilizing the country's abundant mineral resources. Mr. Karimov has urged India to set up a branch of an Indian bank in Tashkent for promoting commercial contacts between the two countries. Mr. Narasimha Rao has extended an invitation to Mr. Karimov to visit India. Mr. Rao visited the Lal Bahadur Shastri Memorial and paid floral tributes. He also visited Shastri School in Tashkent. The Uzbek president is hosting a banquet in honor of the visiting prime minister tonight. Earlier on his arrival, the prime minister was accorded a warm welcome. He was received at the airport by the Uzbekistan president, Mr. Karimov, and his ministerial colleagues.

Express Concern Over Fundamentalism

BK2405034893 Delhi All India Radio Network in English 0245 GMT 24 May 93

[Text] India and Uzbekistan have expressed concern over the growing fundamentalist forces across the world. Speaking at a banquet hosted in honor of the visiting prime minister in Tashkent last night, Mr. Narasimha Rao said terrorism and the menace of narcotics-funded violence and crime pose a serious threat to the emerging new democratic nations. He said societies continue to face problems from religious fundamentalism and ethnic chauvinism. Mr. Narasimha Rao said that Uzbekistan has adopted necessary legislation for international business cooperation. He said India is undertaking an intensive program of economic liberalization. Mr. Rao said opportunities for mutual cooperation between the two countries are vast and favorable, especially in the field of natural resources.

In his welcome speech, the Uzbekistan president Mr. Islam Karimov said that India with its great potentialities can play an important role in resolving global issues. He expressed the hope that close cooperation between the two countries will contribute toward strengthening peace and friendship. The two leaders yesterday agreed to expand their commercial, trade and investment ties. They agreed to work for concretization of proposals for setting up joint ventures in various sectors. Mr. Narasimha Rao informed Mr. Karimov, that the recently set up Indo-Uzbek joint commission will soon meet to identify priority areas where both the countries can benefit mutually.

Azerbaijan

Kamberov Suggests Joint Body To Study Sentenced Russians

LD2205155293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1336 GMT 22 May 93

[By AZERTAC correspondent Sevindzh Abdullayeva for TASS]

[Text] Baku, 22 May—Azerbaijan National Assembly Chairman Isa Kamberov has proposed that an Azerbaijani-Russian parliamentary commission be set up on an equal footing to investigate the circumstances of the criminal case of the Russian servicemen sentenced to death by an Azerbaijani court for their participation in military operations on the side of Armenia.

A letter sent today to Russian Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov, in reply to his request for humanity, stresses that "the commission's conclusions might assist an objective resolution both of this particular situation and of similar cases in the future, but the main thing is to prevent the involvement of Russian servicemen in criminal acts."

Isa Kamberov announced that Azerbaijan's National Assembly has instructed its permanent commissions to study the question carefully.

"Azerbaijan values good relations with Russia and has displayed goodwill on more than one occasion, as happened in the case of Lieutenant Lukin, who was handed over to Russian justice," the letter stresses. However, the head of the Azerbaijani parliament thinks the republic does not always meet with a similar attitude toward its interests and requests. He voiced regret over the anti-Azerbaijan campaign "with blatant indications of threats and blackmail" that has been mounted in the Russian media.

Isa Kamberov urged the Russian parliament to adopt measures to prevent the participation of Russian servicemen in military operations against Azerbaijan.

The parliamentary speaker gave his assurance that Azerbaijan will do everything possible to ensure that the principles of good-neighborliness, mutual respect, noninterference in each other's internal affairs, recognition of territorial integrity, and the inviolability of borders should be paramount in the relations between the two states. However, he noted, "we also expect from Russia a more active expression of its stance over Armenia's undeclared war against Azerbaijan, as a result of which the whole of the upland [Nagornaya] part of Karabakh has been occupied, as well as Lachin, Kelbadhzar, and some other age-old Azerbaijani lands."

Further on Kamberov Reply

NC2205110593 Baku TURAN in English 0838 GMT 22 May 93

[Text] Baku May 22 (TURAN)—The Chairman of the Milli Mejlis of the Azerbaijan Republic Isa Kamberov sent the return letter to the Chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet Ruslan Khasbulatov in connection with the conviction of the Russian servicemen Lieutenant V. Semion, Sergeant K. Tukish, M. Lisov and A. Filipov [names as received] by the Military Court of the Supreme Court of Azerbaijan.

In his letter Isa Kamberov suggested that the commission of Azerbaijan Milli Mejlis deputies on a par with the experts of the Russian Supreme Soviet be established to clarify the circumstances of this criminal case. To the chairman of the parliament point of view, "The conclusion of the commission could help in the objective solving this concrete problem, as well as such kind of problems in the future. But the main thing is, it could help to promote the involvement of the Russian servicemen into crime." [sentence as received]

In its turn, in connection with the Russian parliament message, Milli Mejlis adopted a resolution on May 19, according to which the permanent commissions on the government building and legal policy, human rights and international relations are charged with the exploration of this problem.

General Procuracy Maintains Guilt of Russian Servicemen

OW2105140693 Baku Azerbaycan Radio Televiziyasi Television Network in Russian 1500 GMT 20 May 93

[From the "Telefaks" newscast]

[Text] The republic's General Procuracy considers attempts by the Russian mass media to represent the six Russian servicemen, sentenced previously by the Military Collegium of the Azerbaijan Supreme Court, as innocent victims to be far-fetched. Its statement, received today by AZERTAC, says that insinuations of this kind have nothing in common with the truth concerning these servicemen, established during the preliminary investigation and court proceedings. They are Russian citizens who were serving in Yerevan in a separate Spetsnaz Company of Airborne Troops.

The statement stresses that evidence gathered in this case, as well as the personal admissions of the convicted, attest to the fact that they committed their criminal acts on the territory of Azerbaijan together with armed Armenian formations and with the knowledge of the commanders of their unit. The statement notes, in connection with this, that their lengthy absence from their unit was not noticed even when they were at the center for subversive training located near Khankendi and participated in subversive and combat operations in Karabakh and neighboring regions of Azerbaijan.

The General Procuracy considers attempts to represent the convicted as Armenian mercenaries who had no relationship to the Russian Army as absurd. According to this department it had earlier received an official response from the Russian military commissariat on their call-up for active military service. Reports on their desertion from the aforementioned military unit were not received. The General Procuracy considers the sentence in the case of the six Russian servicemen to be just. The statement says that it fully corresponds with the gravity of their deeds. The desire of certain circles to help the criminals evade responsibility and to attach political overtones to the case after its conclusion are considered here to be a dangerous undertaking.

Prime Minister Guseynov Leaves for UK

NC2305193193 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 23 May 93

[Text] Prime Minister Panakh Guseynov left for an official visit to Britain today. The main objective of the visit is to strengthen economic relations between the two countries. Panakh Guseynov was seen off at the airport by [words indistinct].

Georgia

Shevardnadze, UN Envoy on Abkhaz-Georgian Conflict

LD2105125393 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 21 May 93

[Text] In countries close to us, in the area of the Georgian-Abkhaz conflict, a cease-fire has been achieved, but the problem is far from being solved. Georgian State Leader Eduard Shevardnadze has discussed the problem of the conflict with special UN envoy Edward Brunner. From Tbilisi, IPRINDA correspondent Nikolay Momolashvili:

[Momolashvili] Since you have achieved a cease-fire without our help, the United Nations can only offer its assistance in organizing observers to oversee fulfillment of the agreement, Mr. Brunner said during talks with Shevardnadze. In his words, the recommendations that the UN can give the fighting sides relate, first, to the technical aspects of organizing observers of the ceasefire, and second, recommendations on how to move toward a political dialogue. I think that the first proposal from our side will be a recommendation to hold talks under UN auspices, said Mr. Brunner.

After expressing his gratitude for the UN peace initiative, Eduard Shevardnadze underlined that the most important thing today is not to lose the cease-fire they have achieved. Eduard Shevardnadze assured the UN envoy that there are no unsolvable problems in relations between the Georgian and Abkhazian peoples, all the more so since Abkhazia is guaranteed its autonomy, Shevardnadze underlined.

By the end of the conversation with the UN envoy, the Georgian state head said in an interview to IPRINDA he would not make any predictions about the development of the conflict between Georgia and Abkhazia. Crisis days await us, said Shevardnadze, but if we succeed in maintaining the existing cease-fire, we can say that a peaceful settlement to the conflict in the region has started.

UN Envoy Visits Abkhazia

LD2205152993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1445 GMT 22 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Konstantin Dzhomiadiy]

[Text] Sukhumi May 22 TASS—Members of the National Unity Committee of Abkhazia had a meeting today with the U.N. mission led by personal envoy of the U.N. Secretary-General Edward Brunner. According to Boris Kakubava, chairman of the National Unity Committee and member of the Georgian Parliament, the main purpose of the meeting was to familiarise members of the mission before they leave for Gudauta with the ways the socio-political forces regard the situation in Abkhazia, as well as methods of a possible settlement of the military conflict.

Participants in the meeting stressed that the two conflicting parties had long realised the need for stopping combat operations. Special attention was called to the role of the world public and its possible influence on the forces, which continue to whip up tension in the region.

According to Edward Bruner, the main objective today is ceasefire and the exercise of control over it under the U.N. aegis. It is necessary to look for ways to starting political talks between the conflicting parties. He also said that after the meetings in Tbilisi and Sukhumi, as well as after the visit to Gudauta he would be able to draw up his recommendations, which would be submitted to the U.N. secretary-general. Participants in the meeting expressed hope that the present U.N. mission would be more efficient.

Nadareishvili Proposes Abkhaz Peace Plan to Ardzinba

LD2205203993 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1900 GMT 22 May 93

[By. N Kandiashvili from Georgia; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Tamaz Nadareishvili, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Abkhaz Autonomous Republic, made a truly sensational statement today. He proposed that Vladislav Ardzinba, commander of the Abkhaz armed formations in Gudauta, should resign, along with him, and that they should set up a committee to find a settlement to the situation in Abkhazia—which should include both Georgians and Abkhazians.

In Nadareishvili's view, this is the only real chance to achieve peace in the region and to prepare for general elections for a new Abkhaz republican parliament. No answer has come from Ardzinba yet, but it would seem that all sides involved in the conflict have an interest in the proposed plan. The opinion of official Tbilisi on this score, however, is still unknown.

Meets Yeltsin's Personal Envoy

LD2405083193 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0400 GMT 24 May 93

[Text] A CONTACT news agency correspondent contacted Tamaz Nadareishvili, chairman of the Council of Ministers and Defense Council of Abkhazia.

Nadareishvili said Boris Yeltsin's personal representative, Boris Pastukhov had visited us. We had a working meeting. I familiarized Pastukhov with the situation in the region; I had very tough talks with him and showed him many instances proving Russia's immediate participation in this war. We also met members of the National Salvation that mainly includes Abkhazians. They told Pastukhov that very bitter words had been addressed to both Russia and Ardzinba's separatist forces.

After the meeting, Pastukhov was very surprised to have found out that Abkhazians have an opportunity to work in the government and that they formed their own committees. We showed Pastukhov the town districts of Sukhumi that were bombed by the Russian Air Force. He met with the Georgian, Armenian, and also Russian population.

Tamaz Nadareishvili said, it is good that peaceful negotiations are under way and the cease-fire is holding, but being the chairman of the Defense Council I am doing my job, I have given orders for all Georgian subunits to be on alert, we are carrying out measures to guard the town [Sukhumi] as we have a bitter experience of Gagra [Abkhaz separatists eliminated unarmed Georgian civilian population in Gagra, killing thousands of Georgians, especially intellectuals].

The UN peacekeeping mission visited us, and foreign journalists were with the mission. They received in-depth information about the causes that triggered off this conflict. We showed them what the real situation is like and told them that we demand the Abkhaz party recognize Georgia's territorial integrity. Only after that is a dialogue possible.

Yeltsin Envoy Meets Parliament Official

LD2305211393 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1950 GMT 23 May 93

[Text] Edward Brunner, personal representative of the UN secretary general, and Aleksandre Kavsadze, personal representative of the Georgian parliament chairman and head of state, have returned to Tbilisi from Sukhumi. Mr. Brunner told journalists that he had meetings in Gudauta with Ardzinba and his supporters, after which ways have emerged of a peaceful settlement to the Abkhazian conflict. This is supported by the fact that for several days there has been no intensive fighting in the region.

Mr. Kavsadze pointed out that he had meetings in Sukhumi with Boris Pastukhov, personal representative of Russian President Boris Yeltsin. The meetings showed even more clearly the importance of the Russian factor in connection with the conflict in Abkhazia. He said that specific peacemaking steps have been outlined and that Mr. Brunner and he will present a list of these steps to Georgian head Eduard Shevardnadze. However, Alexandre Kavsadze stressed that the withdrawal of Georgian Armed Forces from the territory of Abkhazia remains one of the main demands of the Gudauta side.

Abkhazia Accuses Georgia of Cease-Fire Violations

LD2205085493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0755 GMT 22 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 22 May—According to the latest information from the Abkhazian Defense Ministry received by ITAR-TASS today, the sides are observing the cease-fire order along the Sukhumi line in the zone of the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict. However, exchanges of fire continue as intensively as ever along the entire front line in Ochamchira Rayon. Using heavy machine-guns, the Georgian troops fired on Abkhaz positions in Pakuash village in the evening of 21 May. According to a report from the same source, the Georgian side used artillery to shell the villages Labra, Atara Armyanskaya, and Achaarkyt during the night of 21-22 May. It is reported that the Abkhaz armed forces did not return fire.

The Abkhaz Defense Ministry issued a statement today noting that the Georgian side is not observing the cease-fire agreement along the Eastern front.

Abkhaz Defense Council Chairman Meets U.S. Military Attache

LD2105140993 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1300 GMT 21 May 93

[Text] Major General Tamaz Nadareishvili, chairman of the Defense Council of the Autonomous Republic of Abkhazia and chairman of the Abkhazian Council of Ministers, today met Gilberto Viladeli, military attache of the U.S. Embassy in the Republic of Georgia.

A whole range of pressing issues of a military and political nature was discussed during the meeting. Gilberto Viladeli thanked Nadareishvili for the warm reception and the objective information about the processes under way in Abkhazia, and promised that he would familiarize the relevant U.S. Governmental bodies with the results of the dialogue and the suggestions.

Denial of Preparations To Invade South Ossetia

LD2305215993 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1950 GMT 23 May 93

["Statement by the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Georgia"]

[Text] Torez Kulumbekov has released information through INTERFAX channels alleging that the Armed Forces of the Republic of Georgia are concentrating heavy equipment and manpower in order to invade the Tskhinvali region.

In connection with this, the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Georgia is authorized to state that this information is totally untrue and that certain forces are trying to exacerbate the situation in Samachablo [South Ossetia], as ways of a peaceful settlement of the conflict in Abkhazia are now emerging.

'Armed Groups' Become Active Pre-Independence Day

LD2405111793 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0730 GMT 24 May 93

[Text] Here is information obtained from reliable sources: Mengrelia [Samegrelo], in west Georgia: Armed groups of the former president of Georgia are becoming active. In a number of cities, military commandants have been appointed by them. Armed subunits from Gori, Kutaisi, and other towns and rayons of Georgia have started to arrive here.

Activation of the former leadership's supporters is caused by the approaching date, 26 May, Georgia's Independence Day.

Lithuania

Armed Forces To Be Armed With Russian Weapons

LD2305143993 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 0600 GMT 23 May 93

[Text] The BALTIC NEWS SERVICE agency reports: Russian weapons will be the basis of the armaments of the Lithuanian armed forces, Lithuanian National Defense Minister Audrius Butkevicius told an INTERFAX correspondent. He explained that an agreement concerning the sales of weapons and equipment to Lithuania was reached with Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev during his visit to Vilnius.

Audrius Butkevicius also said that in his opinion there is no threat of attack on Lithuania by any state. He pointed out that a greater danger is posed by the (?civil) situation on the territory of the former Soviet Union and in the former Warsaw Pact states.

According to the minister, NATO is the most reliable structure for maintaining peace in Europe. He thinks that if Russia and the states of Central and Eastern Europe could be drawn into NATO, it would be possible to speak about real security and stability in the region.

Audrius Butkevicius pointed out that Lithuania is not considering pursuing a neutral policy. According to him, Lithuania intends to play an active part in all European and world [word indistinct] as a link between East and West.

Defense Minister Sees Trade Opportunities With Russia

LD2205174593 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 22 May 93

[Text] Lithuania is not pursuing a policy of neutrality; it is an active member of all the European processes, which will help it to build a bridge between East and West and ensure stability and national security, Lithuanian National Defense Minister Audrius Butkevicius said in an interview.

To a question on the future development of Russian-Lithuanian relations in the military sphere, Butkevicius said:

[Begin Butkevicius recording] A small but not inconsiderable part of our industry manufactures certain goods for the military- industrial complex of Russia. And there are very many opportunities for us to cooperate and work together. [end recording]

Russian Official on Status of Troop Withdrawal

LD2305145093 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 0600 GMT 23 May 93

[Text] While 55 percent of Russian military equipment deployed on the territory of Lithuania has already been withdrawn, at the same time not more than 40 percent of Russian troops have been withdrawn from the Baltic states, reported Colonel General Leonid Mayorov, chief of the Northwest group of the Russian armed forces. According to him, the difference between the withdrawn troops from Lithuania and the other Baltic states is (?significant) because the withdrawal of Russian troops from Latvia and Estonia has been suspended.

Leonid Mayorov pointed out that much ammunition has accumulated since World War II. Just one warehouse in Lithuania stores about 22,000 tons of ammunition. According to the general, the ammunition can be taken out not earlier than August 1994.

Leonid Mayorov said that Russian strategic installations remain only on the territory of Latvia. According to him, these installations [word indistinct] will be used in future, not only by Russia, but by the whole world.

Landsbergis News Conference Discusses Russian Withdrawal

LD2405104993 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 0900 GMT 24 May 93

[Text] A press conference was held today at the Seimas Palace by Vytautas Landsbergis, leader of the Seimas opposition Tevynes Santara.

At the beginning, a statement was disseminated by the Union for the Rebirth of the Motherland on the destruction of the voluntary national defense system.

Vytautas Landsbergis spoke about the links with Russia. The leaders of that country promise officially to withdraw their troops from Lithuania by the agreed time, which is 31 August. However, the withdrawal of some units is lagging behind schedule. Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev mentioned in Vilnius last week that it would be difficult to withdraw all the ammunition by this autumn and said that perhaps Lithuania would agree to take care of it for sometime after 31 August.

Moscow is making various demands on the Baltic states; for example, granting dual nationality to Russian servicemen and so on. We must render political support to Estonia and Latvia in order that the atmosphere of uncertainty felt from the Russian side can be (?eliminated).

Vytautas Landsbergis proposed setting up large display boards in cities where information on the withdrawal of the Russian troops can be periodically displayed. According to him, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs could issue bulletins and disseminate them at the embassies of foreign states and international organizations.

German Envoy Interviewed on Ties, Aid

WS2105131593 Vilnius LIETUVOS AIDAS in Lithuanian 7 May 93 No. 86 p 6

[Interview with Reinhart Kraus, German ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Lithuania, by newspaper correspondent Lina Peceliuniene: "Self Comes First"]

[Text] [Peceliuniene] **On his return to Lithuania, Seimas Deputy R. Ozolas said Germany was interested in our country inasmuch as it assisted Russian democracy. What is the actual attitude of Germany toward Lithuania?**

[Kraus] I met with Mr. Ozolas and discussed the relations between Lithuania and Germany. I think that his assessment of our cooperation is positive.

The ties between the two countries have been constantly strengthening since the establishment of diplomatic relations (in August 1991). A number of agreements have been signed. One of the most important agreements is on the protection and promotion of investments. Some Lithuanian and German ministries (of Interior, Communications, Economy, and Agriculture) have held talks on the work organization. I should say that the dialogue between our countries is intensive and meaningful. I think that the opinion about the dependence of relations between two states on the events in a third country is incorrect.

Germany and Lithuania are historically related, although these ties were not always cheerful. Our future relations will depend both on the past and the present. We should sign a comprehensive agreement on cultural cooperation, and our good ties will gain strength.

[Peceliuniene] **You were the ambassador to Belarus. Could you compare Lithuania with that country? How does Germany see our economic reform?**

[Kraus] I happened to set up the embassy in Minsk, and had a chance to become familiar with life in Belarus. Each country has its own peculiarities. Certain spheres in Belarus developed at a different rate than in other CIS countries or the Baltics. Despite this, there are some analogies and similarities. Belarus has also established close economic ties with Germany. We organized Belarusian economy days during the Leipzig Fair last year, which were attended by a great number of businessmen. The fair was an important impulse in promoting cooperation between Belarus and Germany. A German-Belarusian Economic Council has been established.

Recently, Leipzig organized Lithuanian economy day. This event was attended by Lithuanian Economy Minister J. Veselka and several other representatives. The meeting discussed the Lithuanian economy and the ways for promoting economic cooperation between the two countries. So far, we have not exhausted all possibilities. Lithuania and Germany have 250 joint ventures. However, apart from trade, we would also like to invest in your industry.

[Peceliuniene] **Do Lithuanian laws satisfy German investors?**

[Kraus] The amount of investments depends on many things. The key of them is psychological climate and laws. Recently, there have been a lot of proposals on how to improve this atmosphere. It is also necessary to amend the law—investors should be allowed to buy land. I am an optimist and I hope that the Lithuanian government will take into account the proposals on improving investment terms. However, foreign investments, despite their ability to boost economy, are only one of numerous options. The country itself must find some internal forces to accomplish this. Foreigners may make their contribution, but decisions must be found here.

[Peceliuniene] **You have said that Germany had never imagined the problems it would have after the unification. The debates on the need to have a law on the elimination of the effects of sovietization were lengthy in Lithuania. We know that a similar process (the elimination of dictatorship effects) is going on in East Germany. What are the key problems there, and how are they resolved?**

[Kraus] There are a lot of similarities between East Germany and your country. The period of dictatorship has left a deep impression on society. In both countries we may come across the phenomenon that people were used to getting everything from the state and did not try to cater for themselves. East Germany experienced two successive regimes—from 1933 and from 1945. I think that we cannot demand that these people change in a day. We should try to involve them in reform, considering their psychology and mentality. For some of them this move will be very difficult, while others will be unable to change.

It is impossible to find the same solution of this problem for both countries, because their situation is different. The FRG was ready to render tremendous economic assistance to East Germany—to immediately begin restructuring and to introduce the Deutsche Mark. The events in Lithuania have taken a different course. Your country cannot get such aid, and must mobilize its own reserves.

Germany was very resolute in launching privatization. It created an institution to privatize state assets. There was an idea to privatize all state enterprises. However, most of them were hopeless. Since there were no buyers, they were liquidated. This gave rise to the problem of unemployment. Some people are even beginning to say that such enterprises must not be closed down, in order to artificially preserve jobs.

[Peceliuniene] **Could you define Germany's attitude toward the Kaliningrad region? The neighboring states are having numerous debates on its future.**

[Kraus] Formerly, this area belonged to Germany, and now it is part of Russia. The legal aspect is absolutely clear. It is natural that neighboring countries, including Germany, are interested in this region. It borders on the Baltic Sea. Besides, it has many historical ties with Germany. The economic revival of this region is very important, and we must contribute to it.

This region abounds in arms. I believe that all neighboring countries are interested in the moves to reduce its military potential.

[Peceliuniene] **Our readers would be pleased to learn about your hobbies, family, and family roots.**

[Kraus] I come from East Germany. My mother was born in Silesia, my father in Rostock, and myself in Dresden. I have a great liking for this country, and I understand the problems of its people.

I am a very busy person and I have little time for myself. My greatest hobby is music. I am very happy that I have already established contacts with Lithuanian musicians.

[Peceliuniene] **In conclusion, I would like you to dwell on the issue that is most urgent in Lithuania now. V. Landsbergis has said once: By its statements on suspending the troop withdrawal from the Baltic states, Russia is testing the reaction of the West. Can we expect that Germany will not tolerate violations of international agreements?**

[Kraus] My answer will be short. The FRG has very clearly expressed its stand on the withdrawal of Russian troops from the Baltic states. Germany wants this Army to be pulled out and believes this process to be expedient.

Germany's position remains unchanged. I hope that Lithuania's anxiety about the suspension of the Army withdrawal will turn out to be groundless. Russia has stated many times that 31 August is the deadline for withdrawing the Army from Lithuania. I think that it will observe this date.

[Peceliuniene] **Our conversation has put forward many more questions. However, I do not dare disturb you any longer. Thank you for the interview. We hope to meet with you in other LIETUVOS AIDAS' issues.**

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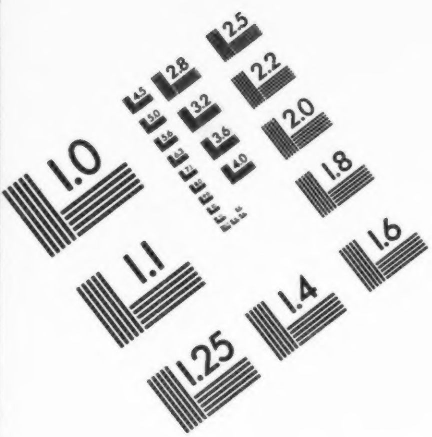
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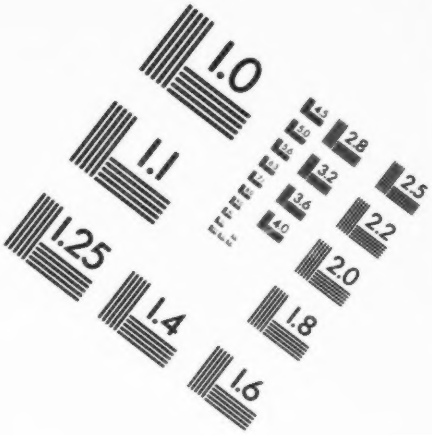
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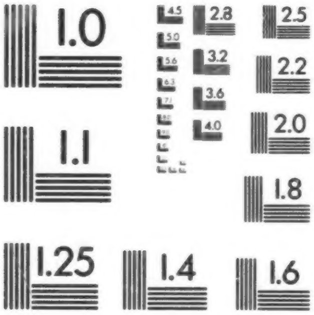
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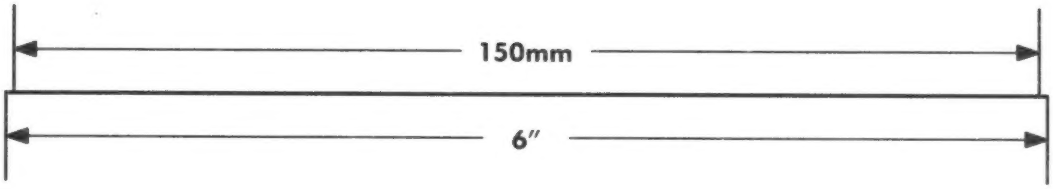

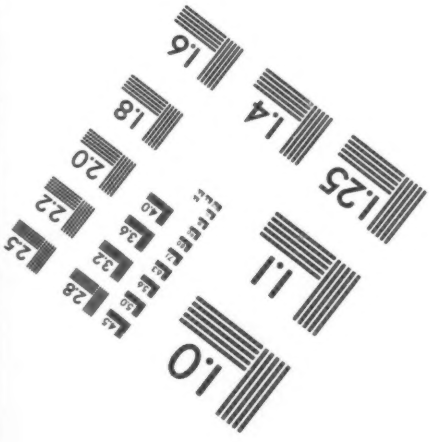
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